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Author(s): A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Jan., 1933), pp. 69-101

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25194689>

Accessed: 31/10/2014 18:13

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The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle ¹

TRANSLATED BY A. S. TRITTON

WITH NOTES BY H. A. R. GIBB

IN the year 1405 (A.D. 1098, A.H. 472 ²), fifty-one years after the Turks had conquered these lands, when Alexius was emperor in Constantinople, the Turk Yághí-Siyán (Aksin) had been made governor of Antioch by Abu 'l Fath, ³ the Egyptian Afdal was in Jerusalem, which he had taken from the Turks Suqmán and his brothers, the sons of Ortuk, two years before, and all the sea-coast was subject to the Egyptians, Theodore Kurbalát the son of Hátim ⁴ was in Edessa, which he had saved from the Turks, expecting to hand it over to the emperor. At this time many kings and chiefs of the Franks with a big army and workmen of all sorts, thousands and tens of thousands without end, got ready. There were four kings, leaders of armies, Bohemund, Godfrey (Gufra, Gundafra), Saint Gilles, and Tancred (Tangri) with many bishops and monks. They set their faces to go by land through Greek territory, and to cross by the Hellespont, where is Constantinople, and the two seas are joined by a narrow strait. They sent ambassadors to Alexius to prepare and go out with them, to get ready what was needful, and to arrange throughout his land stores of food and fodder for the use of the army. Alexius promised to help them in all they needed.

When the Frank armies advanced and began to enter the boundaries and some of them reached a certain camp . . . ⁵ many footmen and workmen were sent on to cross before the

¹ *CSCO.*, Ser. III., vol. xv. The end is lost; the last date is A.H. 631.

² Rightly 491.

³ Malikshah.

⁴ Hétom.

⁵ Lacuna in MS.

soldiers arrived. Alexius warned the Turks in Nicæa and its neighbourhood to attack and kill them. So it was ; the Turks hastened to attack them on the sea-shore and slew them without mercy : the whole of the advanced camp was destroyed. When the Frank armies reached Constantinople, they met the Greek emperor and nobles and swore oaths to one another. Alexius prepared to go with them in person by another road through Galatia.

All the Franks and Greeks went and straightway camped against Nicæa, took it from the Turks, gave it to the emperor, and marched from there into Cilicia. The land was shaken before them. They came to Syria, reckoned to camp first against Antioch, which was the head of all Syria, pitched their camps in all places near the city, and closed the roads to those who would go in or out. They began to kill and plunder in all the district.

As we said, Theodore ruled in Edessa. When the townsmen heard that the Franks had come and camped in the district of Antioch, they asked him to send for help from the Frank soldiers to guard the city against the Turks. Theodore did not agree to this. But when he saw that the townsmen were not strong enough and would send for them (the Franks) against his will, he pretended to agree though he was not really pleased at their coming. He was much afraid for many of the townsmen hated him. So he sent ambassadors to Duke Godfrey, the head and commander of the Frank armies, asking him to send troops to guard the land. When the Franks read the letters of Theodore they rejoiced exceedingly, and sent Baldwin (Bagdwin), the brother of Godfrey, a pious man who feared God and was a mighty warrior. At that time Edessa was a very great city, filled with the voices of many peoples, and famed for its clergy, monks, and much people. Its territory was full of villages, villas, and hamlets.

When Baldwin and his Franks had been in Edessa for some time, certain lewd townsmen began to provoke strife between the Franks and Theodore till the evil grew and filled

their hearts so that they attained the wickedness of plotting to kill their governor and letting the Franks rule over them. They did this not from the love of the Franks but from the bad will of those who disliked Theodore. They raged like wild beasts, excited and inflamed one another, gathered in a great crowd, and raised a tumult by the descent from the castle at the head of the spring. When he came to that crowd they rushed at him, so he fled before them to the lower castle which he had built above the east gate of the city. They attacked this and he asked them to swear that he might depart with his wife and children in poverty. They promised this with an oath so he opened the gate, but they did not keep their oath and dealt treacherously with him ; they went up, beat him, bound him with a rope, and let him down naked, wearing only a loin-cloth, from a high wall facing the city. When they had let him down . . .¹ the son of Hátim and the destruction of his house. Baldwin took all that belonged to Theodore and the two castles.

When the Franks heard that Baldwin had captured Edessa they were very glad, pitched their camp close to Antioch, and pressed the siege hard. As the fighting grew more intense, some of the garrison plotted surrender and sent to Bohemund to hand over the city to him. When the plan was perfected the Franks climbed up and seized the wall and then began to rush down into the city. Yághí-Siyán (Isgin) saw that the city was taken, took refuge in flight by the gate of the upper castle on the hill, and escaped to the east to Mt. . . .¹ The capture of Antioch was by treason, surrender by the garrison near the hill on the east side.

While the Franks were besieging Antioch, a great chief, Kerbogha, came from the east to Edessa and reached the town gate. The whole district was full of flocks, cattle, goats, men, and houses. He did great havoc in the land, destroying, killing, plundering, and enslaving many of the people. He turned towards Aleppo to go to Antioch. When

¹ Lacuna.

he reached Aleppo and learnt that Antioch had been captured by the Franks, he hurried there and camped against the city where the Franks had camped with a great force that he had brought from Baghdad, Assyria, and north Mesopotamia. He beleaguered the Franks and began to attack the city. The garrison suffered from lack of corn and fodder for their horses because the land was laid waste. No supplies came into the town that year; the Franks were thousands and a great multitude and so pressed by famine that the head of an ass cost twenty dinars while wheat and barley were not to be seen. In this strait it was revealed in a dream to one of the bishops that in a certain place in the great church of Qasyán was hidden the spear wherewith the figure of Christ was pierced (which the Jews did in Tiberias). "Take this. Let it go before you. Go out against the enemy and you will defeat them." They found it, rejoiced, and got ready to assault the Turks; especially as famine had destroyed their hopes, for they preferred death in battle outside to perishing like women. They put the sign of the cross and this spear on their lances, marched out, and God gave them the victory. The Turks broke and fled. After killing many, they went to their camps taking boundless spoil, corn, horses, and goods. The fame of the victory spread abroad, the hearts of all the Turkish kings were broken and shaken, and fear fell on all the kings of the land.

Bohemund ruled in Antioch with his sister's son Tancred; Turks held Sarúj; Armenians, the sons of Básag, held Zeugma¹ and the banks of the Euphrates; Basil the thief,² an Armenian, held Kaisún and Ra'bán (he was so called because he robbed travellers regularly); Ghází,³ a Turk

¹ A little above al Bíra (Biredjik).

² Kogh-Basil, see Jorga, *Brève Histoire de la Petite Arménie* (Paris, 1930), pp. 17-18.

³ Rather Sulaimán b. Malik Ghází Gumushtagín b. Dánishmand, called by the Western chroniclers "Balduch", and subsequently executed by Baldwin (cf. Albert of Aix, iii, 21ff., and v, 22). This passage suggests that "Balduch" was a family or territorial name.

of the Baladuqia held Sumaisât (Shamaisat); Christians,¹ sons of Philartus the Domestic, held Mar'ash and the Black Mount; Armenians, sons of Râfin, held Anazarba and Cilicia; and the Franks had captured Tarsus, Maşîşa, and Adana.

When the Franks grew strong they prepared to go up and besiege Jerusalem, marching by sea and land. First they besieged Joppa which is on the coast of Palestine and took it in a few days and from it they moved and pitched their camps against Jerusalem, surrounding it on all sides. They attacked it fiercely, building against it wooden erections and towers. The city was filled with a great multitude, an Egyptian army, weapons, and material of war. When the attack grew violent, the governor surrendered it to the Franks in July in the second year of their expedition, 1409² of the Greeks. Thirty thousand Muslims were killed and the Franks sacked it. (The Christians in it had been expelled before the arrival of the Franks.) Godfrey, the Duke, a great leader of the Franks, became king. They spread over the country, captured the villages, forts, and towns of Palestine and all Galilee.

Count Saint Gilles, one of the army chiefs who had come with the Franks, took a large force and besieged Tripoli, attacking it fiercely. The town was strongly fortified with three walls and a deep ditch between each two; it was small and had a big garrison of warlike soldiers. Saint Gilles built a fort on the lower slopes of Mt. Lebanon and made it a town with a big population, as it is to-day. He fought long against the town, vexing it seven years, till the governor surrendered it.³ He seized much booty and slew all the Muslims found in it, occupying its territory round about and all the coast except Tyre and Ashkalon which is Ascalon; these remained for the time to the Egyptians. Damascus, Hîms, Tadmor, Başura⁴ with Baalbek, Hâmâth, Aleppo,

¹ i.e. Greeks.

² ? error for 1406 (1099).

³ A.D. 1109.

⁴ ? Buşra.

Kalas (Kella ?), Mabbúg,¹ Harrán, and Callinicus² were held by the Turks who did much damage to the lands held by the Franks.

At this time Gabriel, a Chalcedonian, held Malaṭia; he appointed as governor Buzán a commander. When Buzán was killed the town remained in his power. Gabriel sent ambassadors to Bohemund of Antioch proposing that he should come to Malaṭia and marry Gabriel's daughter, whose name was Kira Murphia, and receive Malaṭia as a dowry with the daughter. Bohemund started for Malaṭia and, when he was near the town, Dánishmand (Danushman), ruler of Pontus and Cappadocia, fell on him. Bohemund was defeated, the Franks with him killed, and he himself taken prisoner.³ After a time he was ransomed for a great sum, went back to Antioch, made his sister's son Tancred ruler of it, and then went by sea to his native place where he died. Saint Gilles also who had captured Tripoli made his son ruler of it and sailed to his own land.

Another Frank lord named Pítabín (Poitevin ?)⁴ planned to start when he heard that the Franks who had come had conquered the lands of Syria and Palestine. He planned to pass by Pamphylia and Cappadocia and possess the northern lands. Arrived in Constantinople he took counsel with Alexius and asked him for guides who knew the roads. He betrayed and misled him. He sent men with him but told them to lead him into a desert where there was neither water nor fodder and he told the Turks of those parts so that they could surround them. This came to pass. A great force of Turks enveloped them and overtook them as they were weary and weak from hunger and thirst. The Turks surrounded them, smote them with clouds of arrows so, as they had no strength to fight and no place to flee to, they

¹ Manbij.

² ar-Raqqā.

³ A.D. 1100.

⁴ William IX of Poitou (cf. Röhricht. *Ges. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, 32).

were defeated. They slew with the edge of the sword a multitude without end and took from them a vast sum in gold and silver. Pítabín their leader escaped with a few men and returned to his own land.

Godfrey king of Jerusalem died after two¹ years leaving the kingdom to his brother Baldwin of Edessa. When the news came, Baldwin gave Edessa to another Baldwin, a prudent man, an honoured chief of the Franks, went to Jerusalem, and ruled there in his brother's place. Joscelyn, a kinsman of that Baldwin who had just become lord of Edessa, was lord of the Hill of Good News, Tell Báshir, in the district of Mabbúj. When Baldwin became lord of Edessa, Gabriel of Malaṭia offered him his daughter as he had offered her to Bohemund. Baldwin married Kira Murphia daughter of Gabriel and took her to Edessa.

Dánishmand, the mighty ruler of the interior of Cappadocia, after his capture of Bohemund and ransoming him for much money, again grew strong, gathered his army, encamped against Malaṭia, and afflicted it. The garrison fought as they were able but, when the fight went against them and they were in distress, some persuaded the bishop of the town, who faithfully encouraged the men and prayed for them to fight night and day, to advise Gabriel the lord to agree to peace. When the fight was fierce the bishop spoke persuasively to Gabriel, but he, the accursed one, thought there was some plot. Satan entered into him and he dared to kill the bishop and many worthy Christians of the town. He thought this would be his salvation; it was his ruin. The bishop was Sa'íd (Sí'íd) son of Şabúni.² The besiegers prevailed over the town, captured it, and Dánishmand became its lord.³ Gabriel was killed and his house exterminated utterly.

¹ Lacuna in MS.

² Bar. Heb., *Eccl. Chron.*, i, 463.

³ This suggests that Ibn Dánishmand's capture of Malaṭia took place in A.D. 1103.

Sarúj, near Edessa, was then rich and populous with many Muslims and Christians, and all sorts of famous merchants ; the valley was also rich, populous, and full of hamlets. It was ruled by a Turk named Balaq, one of the sons of Ortuq. The Franks of Edessa harried it on one side ; on another Armenians from the banks of the Euphrates put themselves under Frank orders and harried it. As Balaq realized that Sarúj could not continue in the midst of the Christian lands, he sent an embassy to Baldwin of Edessa offering to surrender Sarúj if terms were agreed to and established by oath. Baldwin made all the promises wanted and Sarúj with its citadel was handed over to him. He set in it a famous Frank named Putshir who collected much money from Sarúj. He laid hands on an Arab Muslim 'ubaid, a leader and councillor in the town, his brothers and relatives, and took from their houses money and wealth passing words. So Putshir grew rich and strong.

When Suqmán b. Ortuq, uncle of Balaq, heard that the Franks had taken Sarúj, he gathered a great army and besieged it, relying on the number of Muslims in the town. When Baldwin of Edessa heard this he marched out to fight him. When the two camps were near together the Turks laid an ambush and fell upon the Franks from front and rear together. The Franks were defeated, many were killed, but Baldwin escaped to Edessa and went in fear across the Euphrates to Antioch to raise an army and relieve Sarúj. Putshir of Sarúj was taken captive. All the Christians there went into the citadel with Papias, the Frank bishop of Edessa, who happened to be in Sarúj. They took with them workmen, carpenters, and smiths, and laid in stores. After defeating the Franks the Turks besieged the citadel, attacking the Christians fiercely. While they were fighting night and day the messenger of Baldwin came : " Get ready inside." When dawn came, the Franks lighted torches on the points of their lances and charged, the earth splitting at the noise. The garrison sallied out to help. Fear fell on the Turks, who

were defeated, and many were slain with the edge of the sword. The Franks went to the Turkish camp and got plunder without end, money, and goods. The Muslim dwellers in the town were afraid, did not believe that the Franks would show them mercy, so seized the town gates, manned the wall, and resisted the Franks. They hoped to hold the town till an army of Muslim Turks relieved them. The Franks tried to persuade them to give up this obstinacy, assured them with oaths that they had no wish to kill them, but they would not listen. The Franks announced: "Let all Christians in the town wear the badge of the cross"; then they roared like lions, sprang from the citadel into the town, and fell on it like butchers. They slew all, old and young, so that the town was filled with the corpses of the slain, thousands and tens of thousands, without number. The populous city was destroyed and the Christians left gathered round the citadel and lived there miserably.¹

After the defeat of Kerbogha² mentioned above, the attack on Sarúj, the defeat of Suqmán, and the disasters to the Muslims of Sarúj, a lord from the east, Jikirmish (Gigirmish), got ready and advanced with a great army to fight the Franks and guard the lands. He went first to Edessa, his army marching through the country, killing, enslaving, destroying, doing all they pleased. As he came near the city the Frank garrison marched out to fight them outside the east gate to prevent them from approaching the gate. Many foolish Edessenenes took their shields and swords and went insolently outside the city to fight the Turks who, as they saw them coming out hurriedly and in no order, retired a little, till they (the Franks) were spread on the plain before the east bridge. They (the Turks) cheered one another and sought to leap on them from all sides. Those on the wall saw this, feared that the two armies would be mixed, would return together, and rush violently into the

¹ A.D. 1101.

² Gurbagad. D may be due to dittography.

town, so they shut the gates. The Turks turned and fell savagely on the fighting Edessenes; these fled and, when they found the gates shut, trembled and were stupified because they could not reach the bridge over the moat to cross between the walls. All fell into the moat on one side or the other. The Turkish foot came down behind them and killed without mercy. In a moment the moat was filled with dead, blood ran like a river and went down the moat. So having laid waste and burnt the countryside, Jikirmish went away.¹

At this time one of the Baladuqia with a few Turks lived and ruled in Sumaisât; he surrendered it to the Franks, taking money for it, and went away. In the northern lands of Gargar Armenians lived and ruled, Gastandín,² Tábtúg, and Christopher, the sons of Sanbíl. The land was populous, abounding in monasteries and houses of priests; among them the convent of the Ladders, that is of St. Abkhai below the cliffs of the Euphrates; that of the Barefooted of Paskín; that of St. George; that of Shíra of St. Shabtai; that of Malcus with populous villages, hamlets, and fields. They had many inmates, all orthodox. The Armenians who ruled them were in the service of the Franks.

In the year 1414 when the Franks were strong, all their kings gathered with great armies and came together at Edessa to march east and conquer the countries there.³ As was their bad habit they did not agree through pride. They stayed long in Edessa discussing the division of the towns that belonged to the Turks; one wanted Mayyafáriqín, one Ámid, one Nisibis, one Mosul, till they cast lots which deserved mockery. Then they prepared to march on Nisibis. When the Turks heard of this gathering of the Franks, they also began to collect; while the Franks delayed in Edessa, quarrelling about the division of the lands, the Turks gathered

¹ No raid of Jikirmish upon Edessa before the battle of the Balikh is mentioned in any other source. This apparently anticipates the raid of A.D. 1105.

² Bar Hebræus, *Chron.* (ed. Paris), 279. Constantine.

³ A.D. 1104.

a great force and waited to attack them when they should march.

When the Franks left Edessa, a great company of the townsmen went with them in their company to plunder, grow rich, and take captives Muslims and Turks where they conquered. So it was a big camp. When they reached the plain of Ḥarrán and passed it on the east, they came to the House of Abraham, at a place called Dahbánah,¹ where is a great mosque and house of prayer of the Muslims. The men of Ḥarrán feared the Franks, took the keys of the town, came to do obeisance to them, and proffered submission. Baldwin of Edessa thought that Ḥarrán belonged to him, being of his territory, and that if they camped there, the kings would take possession, many soldiers would enter it sacking and plundering, the town would be weakened, and this would be no advantage to him; so he returned the keys, told them that they were his men, to keep the town for him till he should return and the stranger peoples be scattered. Tancred of Antioch and the other kings were vexed when they heard this and very wroth with Baldwin. They told him that he had not done well, they should have occupied that strong city, left their superfluous baggage in it, and gone in light order to meet the enemies who were near. If God gave them victory none would have taken it from Baldwin; and if the Turks had heard of the taking of the city, it would have broken their spirit. If they should be defeated, which God forbid, it would be a near refuge. Baldwin did not agree to this.

The Franks marched from Dahbánah and spread out towards the river Balíkh, the angry Tancred marching always behind and in the rear. When they reached the river, they at once saw the Turks, thousands and tens of thousands, and the battle began.² They showered arrows on the Franks, pouring on them like clouds of rain. This threw them into

¹ At the source of the Balíkh river, now Ra's al-'ain al Khalíl.

² 7th May, 1104.

fear and consternation. The Turks drew their swords and began a slaughter in the vanguard. As soon as Tancred and his troops, who were in the rear, saw that a massacre of the van had begun, they turned and fled, abandoning those in front. The Turks increased in strength, slew without mercy, and took many into captivity. Baldwin of Edessa was taken alive with a kinsman, Count Joscelyn of Tell Báshir, a valiant man. They put heavy fetters on them, plundered their camp, arms, horses, and goods without end. The Turks took Baldwin and Joscelyn in bonds to Mosul and there they reigned, topsy-turvily, as they had hoped. Tancred of Antioch went to Edessa and rested for a few days, eating, drinking, and acting as he wished. He took from it much wealth and horses and made one of his own men, Richard,¹ governor. Tancred then went to Antioch.

This Richard was a bad, tyrannical, unjust man, and greedy. The men of Edessa found for themselves a time that suited their wickedness; they traduced each other, all who had grudges against others found an opportunity. He inflicted on them cruel tortures, imprisonments, and disgrace. He gathered much money, especially as he knew that he was a destroyer and a passer-by, not the true lord and heir.

Baldwin of Edessa and his famous kinsman Joscelyn were captives in Mosul, and none troubled to free them, for Tancred was angry with them and Richard held their lands and used them as he liked. The prisoners took counsel and Baldwin said that it would be hard to release him as he was an important man and so Joscelyn must be released first and then he could work for Baldwin's release. A ransom of twelve thousand dinars was fixed for Joscelyn and twelve respected men of his friends were given as hostages. He was set free to collect his ransom and to work for Baldwin, but while he was doing this, the twelve hostages in Mosul broke through the wall where they were imprisoned and fled

¹ Nephew of Bohemund.

to safety. Thus Joscelyn and his sureties were freed without any expense. With the help of the lord ¹ of Qal'at Ja'bar on the Euphrates, a renowned man and a good mediator, Baldwin's ransom was fixed at seventy thousand *mikhilāte* dinars. Joscelyn collected some twenty-five thousand, took them in person to Qal'at Ja'bar, and made himself surety for the remainder. The commander sent ambassadors with the money to Mosul and made himself responsible for the rest as Joscelyn was in his keeping. A new governor Jāwali ² had been appointed to Mosul who had heard of Joscelyn but had not seen him. When he heard that he had put himself in the hands of the Turks as a guarantee for all this money he desired to see him. When the embassy came with the twenty-five thousand dinars and the surety of the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar for the forty-five thousand, he set Count Baldwin free. He sent desiring to see Joscelyn for he had heard that he was a famous, wonderful warrior. The lord of Qal'at Ja'bar gave Joscelyn clothes, a fine horse, Frank arms, and sent him to Mosul. When he arrived the governor assembled his best troops in full armour, went to the parade ground, and ordered Joscelyn to ride in his presence. He rode, did exercises with his spear, wheeled this way and that, pleasing the governor who remitted ten thousand of Baldwin's ransom. Joscelyn dismounted, kissed the ground before him, and thanked him. For kneeling thus another ten thousand was remitted. On their return to the town he made him a feast and remitted another ten thousand. Joscelyn stayed some days at Mosul, the governor showed him great kindness, swearing and making him swear that they would not fight each other as long as they lived, rather they would help each other in time of need. He gave Joscelyn gifts, set him free completely, remitted the whole of Baldwin's ransom, and

¹ Najm ud-Dawla Málík b. Sálím al-'uqaili. On his relations with Joscelyn cf. Usáma b. Munqidh, tr. Hitti (*An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*), pp. 119-20.

² Blank in MS.

let him go in safety. Thus by God's help both were released.

When they were released,¹ Richard, who had governed Edessa, gathered all he had collected from the town and went to his own land Mar'ash. When Baldwin and Joscelyn came to Edessa and learnt what Tancred and Richard had done there, the enmity and anger between them flamed up anew, and they prepared for battle. Joscelyn sent to the governor of Mosul who sent many Turkish soldiers to help him. The armies met in the land of the monastery of Gubba (?) between Cyrrhus and Dalík,² the dust of their encounter rose to heaven. The Turks fled, the men of Antioch pursued and quickly slew them; Baldwin and his men fled and this was the end of the fight. After a time they agreed and made peace and great amity was restored.

In 1417 when the Frank kings were at peace, Mawdúd, the ruler of the east, gathered a vast army without number and went up first to Edessa. He camped below in the eastern plain round Kasas castle.³ He sent many horsemen to ravage the land, so they cut down the gardens and trees, spoiled the land, destroyed convents, but did not approach the city to fight against it and set up engines of war. They just approached and went away.

On learning in Antioch of Mawdúd's attack on Edessa, the Franks assembled in haste to relieve it. Quickly they crossed the Euphrates and the Turks, hearing of their march, moved their camp a short distance to the river Julláb (Galib). The Franks occupied the site of Mawdúd's camp. They were Baldwin king of Jerusalem, the first lord of Edessa, the son of Saint Gilles, count of Tripoli, and Tancred of Antioch with a great army and many horse, but they had neither corn nor forage. Mawdúd had wasted the country and many of the villagers were shut up in the town. They

¹ A.D. 1108.

² Dulúk, i.e. between Killiz and 'ain Táb.

³ The siege began in May, 1110. There was a Kasas Gate at Edessa.

suffered from scarcity and having no patience, as is the bad habit of the Franks, they resolved to cross to the west of the Euphrates while still facing the enemy.

As they moved on the road to Sumaisát, a great army with many followers, townsmen, and villagers attached, by the instrumentality of Satan a Frank, who was enraged with his lord, went to the Turkish camp on the Julláb and told Mawdúd that the Franks were in full flight, faint from hunger and weakened by the fatigues of the way. "If you hurry to pursue them you will inflict great loss on them." At once Mawdúd gave orders, heralds shouted, and trumpets called; mighty warriors mounted and followed the Franks who did not know what had happened and did not look before or behind. When they reached the Euphrates, the fighting men crossed first while the footmen and baggage waited behind. God was angry with his people, especially with the Edessenes who were in the majority there. Suddenly the Turks overtook them, fell on them like butchers, killing without pity; still more were drowned, the Turks thrusting at them with lances; many were taken captive. The Turks fell on the spoil, stores, and baggage. The advance of the Franks had a bad end. Mawdúd went back to his land.

At the turn of the year at harvest Mawdúd with a great army marched straight on Edessa, camped against the town, devoured the land and crops, and cut down the gardens and trees that remained.¹ He besieged the town, causing great distress, and fought fiercely against it all the summer. Distress in the town grew with the scarcity and their spirits failed them, for year after year they planted and laboured but did not reap. Mawdúd made them many promises, told them to give the city up to him for then they would see great good instead of suffering such woes. The men of Edessa sent no answer of peace but some twenty Armenians conspired with Mawdúd to betray the city. He shifted his camp and pitched opposite Sarúj that the men of Edessa might think

¹ This relates to the second siege of Edessa, April-June, A.D. 1112.

that he had gone and be careless in guarding the wall. Soon after when it began to get light after midnight on a Sunday they (the Turks) came quickly from the east between the hedges of the gardens to escape notice and sent some doughty warriors on foot to the place agreed on near the wall on the east of the city inside the lower bridge over the moat over which the water passes. There is a corner and open space fit for an adventure. A great corner tower was there, the guard of it was a well-known citizen named Cyrus. There they met according to agreement ; the traitors let down ropes and pulled up strong ladders and tied them to the wall. They began to climb up and, the watchers, when they saw this, cried in despair : " The enemy are on the wall." The enemy outside heard this and began to make a tumult on the west, beating drums, blowing trumpets, that the citizens might think it the scene of fighting, go there, and leave the traitors undisturbed, so that their own men could climb up. They killed all in that place who did not surrender. Cyrus was silent from fright against his will, and let them carry out their plan. About sixty men climbed on to the tower. Day broke and all saw the Turks on the tower. The Franks and chiefs were panic-stricken when they saw there was treachery in the city, the enemy outside, the wall full of Turks, and every man running to his house and children. Joscelyn of Tell Báshir was in Edessa ; he acted like a hero, mounted the wall on that side, and drew near the enemy. When they saw him, they gathered on the big tower, stood on a roof above him, and showered on him arrows and stones. He heartened himself, entered the tower on the roof of which they stood, put his sword through a window made for shooting arrows, and cut down the ladder while many men were on it. They fell and were smashed. Those above lost hope and heart. Joscelyn mounted on to the roof beside the Turks. Twice they smote him from above with stones and broke his shield. He took a sack full of chaff, on which the guards slept, held it over his head, and climbed stoutly among them.

They fled. Some he knocked down with his sword, some threw themselves down and were broken. The plot failed, it hardly began. Mawdúd went to his land. The Franks tried the traitors, seized many guilty and innocent, cut off hands and noses, put out eyes; many died, others were executed.

Some years later ¹ Mawdúd went to Damascus, Palestine, and Galilee, he wasted, plundered, destroyed, and took many captives. He came to Damascus and, when he entered the great mosque on Friday ² to pray as is the Muslim custom, Ismailians killed him. In the same year ³ died Tancred of Antioch who, as he had no son, was succeeded by his sister's son Roger (Rugil), a proud youth.

Roger was proud and handsome, he gathered troops and soldiers, married the sister of Baldwin of Edessa; with his army he attacked the strong fortress of 'ezáz in the plain of Cyrrhus. He dug tunnels in the ground under the wall, put beams under it, and then set them on fire. The wall tottered and fell; the Franks leapt in through the breach, took the fort, and slaughtered all the Muslims in it. Thus Roger took this famous fort.⁴

On 29th November, 1422, at dawn on Sunday a severe earthquake ruined Germanica which is Mar'ash. It perished entirely, the convents were destroyed, the whole wall fell, twenty-four thousand were killed besides strangers, and more than a hundred priests and deacons. The castle of Manşúr and many other places were wiped out. In this year Baldwin of Edessa was angry with Joscelyn, put him in prison, and afflicted him. After his release he went to Jerusalem to Baldwin, who welcomed him, loved him, and made him governor of Tiberias and Galilee.⁵ There a son was born to him whom he named Joscelyn. In this year died Ruḍwán (Raṭaun) of Aleppo.⁶

¹ A.D. 1113.

² December, 1112.

³ A.D. 1113.

⁴ 2nd October, 1113.

⁵ A.D. 1118.

⁶ 10th December, 1113.

The Turkish sultan lived in Persia and sent governors to each of the western lands. When Mawdúd was killed in Damascus, Burski was sent to Assyria. He advanced, camped first at Edessa, destroyed the gardens, and did great damage in the land.¹ He crossed the Euphrates, camped in the territory of Aleppo, and wasted the lands of the Christians as best as he could. Then he went back. Next year he came as usual to Edessa, wasted the land and destroyed the crops, then moved to Aleppo, and prepared to fight the Franks. They gathered their forces, camped between Aleppo and Antioch, and in 1427 the lines were drawn up, trumpets sounded, and drums beat. God gave the Franks victory, the Turks were defeated and slain, their camp sacked, and Burski fled with a few men.²

Abu'l Gharíb, an Armenian, held the strong castle of Bírta (al Bíra). Baldwin of Edessa with his kinsman Galerán and a big army besieged this castle for a long time as he could not carry it by assault. Then Abu'l Gharíb, as he could get no help, surrendered on terms and Galerán married his daughter with the castle as dowry. So the Franks took this fort.

In 1425³ Baldwin of Edessa went to pray in Jerusalem. Baldwin of Jerusalem collected an army, marched into Egypt to Farama, and died there. He gave orders for his body to be laid in the tomb of his brother Godfrey and for Baldwin to be chosen king. This was done. Baldwin summoned count Joscelyn from Tiberias and made peace with him. So Baldwin ruled in Jerusalem and Joscelyn in Tiberias. When Joscelyn came to Tiberias he won many victories and was feared by all around.

Michael son of Constantine, an Armenian, ruled the land of Gargar. (Constantine was buried while a prisoner at

¹ A.D. 1114.

² September, 1115. The commander of the Muslim forces in this year was Bursuq b. Bursuq, not al-Bursuqi.

³ A.D. 1118.

Sumaisât by the earthquake that ruined Mar'ash.) Michael was a proud youth who did much evil to all, maintaining brigands and thieves in all these parts. Balaq son of Ortuq, who once ruled Sarúj, held Hanzít and the castle of Zaid.¹ He warned Michael to desist from his evil ways and restrain his thieves from attacking merchants and travellers. He paid no heed. Complaint was made to Balaq continually till he could not contain himself but gathered a great force of Turkmen in Kánún, a bitter month, to go to the populous land of Gargar. God's providence accompanied, helped, and guided him, for the Euphrates was frozen and he and all his Turkmen crossed in an instant, while, had they been forced to cross in boats, they could not have done it in five days. He came to the land in the evening and hid his army among difficult rocks, and none knew of them. God was angry with the people of the land. That night heavy snow fell so the Turkmen tracked by the footsteps in the snow all who left the villages to flee to the hills or upland pastures and killed them or took them captive. They spread through the land like a flood, burned houses and villages and did much harm.

When Baldwin went to pray at Jerusalem he made Galeran of Bírta his deputy in Edessa. He collected all the soldiers he could and attacked the camps of the Turkmen in the plains of Mt. Hisma east of Edessa and in the land of Ghází son of Ortuq when they were not expecting it. He captured five hundred men, women, and children, twelve hundred horses, a hundred thousand cattle, camels, and goats, and killed many fighting men. He brought the captives to Edessa. This was in March, 1426²; it was the cause of evil.

Ghází was angry (he was then the famous head of the family of Ortuq), gathered a great army and at harvest-time camped near Edessa but some way from the fields and crops. Peace was arranged and they gave him such Turkmen captives

¹ Khartbart, now Kharput.

² A.D. 1119.

as they had. He left the city without doing any damage, moved to Harrán and occupied it, then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied Aleppo and its territory. He became more powerful than all the Turkish chiefs; even the governors of Assyria obeyed him. He gathered an army and invaded Antioch.

When Roger of Antioch heard of Ghází's invasion he marched to meet him. Baldwin of Jerusalem and Galeran were coming to his assistance but the proud young man would not wait for the coming of the king as he thought that he could defeat the Turks alone and keep the glory and victory. Impudently he drew near the Muslim camp. The Turks equally desired to fight before the coming of the Franks. They surrounded Roger like a ring and showered on the camp arrows like clouds of hail. God was angry with the Franks and turned his face from Roger who died in this battle and was never found, neither among the dead nor the prisoners. The Turks took the baggage and all that the Franks had.¹

After the death of Roger, Baldwin of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli, and Galeran from Edessa arrived. The men of Antioch went out to meet the king. He assumed the government, took the soldiers available, and marched to meet Ghází. Battle was joined, God was angry with the Turks, so Ghází was defeated and many of his troops slain.² He barely escaped with a few followers to Aleppo.

Baldwin returned with joy and victory to Antioch and then to Jerusalem. He called Joscelyn from Tiberias and in 1132 sent him to rule in Edessa,³ to the delight of the citizens. Galeran went back to Birta. Joscelyn gathered an army, attacked the Turkish camps, and took many prisoners. His fame spread abroad in north Mesopotamia and fear of him fell on the Turks around. The Turkmen

¹ 28th June, 1119.

² August, 1119.

³ A.D. 1120.

whose fellows had been enslaved took refuge with Ghází of Mardín and persuaded him to attack Edessa and avenge them. He gathered a vast army, camped about Edessa, devoured the crops, cut down the gardens, ravaged, and departed.¹

Ghází had become powerful and was uplifted because he ruled his own land, that of his brother Suqmán's sons, and that of his uncle's son Dáúd, as far as Assyria, Armenia, and the land of the Iberians. His kin ruled over all Armenia. Trouble broke out between them and king David of the Iberians who are Barastaye.² Ghází was audacious, gathered all his kin with large forces, and invaded the land of the Iberians. When the king heard of this, he gathered his forces and came to meet him. A battle took place, Ghází was defeated, the Iberians pursued them and killed many, and plundered all their belongings.³ Thus he returned in shame, escaped to his own land, and shortly after fell sick, and died.⁴ His son Timurtásh (Dumurtash) ruled in his stead in Marda (Mardín), Dára, and Mayyafáriqín. Balaq, his uncle's son, held the castle of Zaid and Hanzít.⁵

In Malaṭia ruled after the sons of Dánishmand a man of the great family of the Turkish kings,⁶ and after his death his two little sons with their mother; Mas'úd his first-born ruled in Iconium and the interior towards the Greeks; Ghází son of Dánishmand ruled in Sebaste, Cæsarea, and Neocæsarea. He became proud, acted haughtily, and set his face against Malaṭia. He used all means to seize its lord and take the town, even wishing to marry his daughter to him. As he did not take it by guile, he showed his hand, gathered an army, and besieged it. He reduced it to great straits through

¹ May, 1120.

² ? Heathens بت یرست.

³ A.D. 1121.

⁴ 8th November, 1122.

⁵ Two sections relating to Greek affairs omitted.

⁶ i.e. Qilij Arslan I of the Seljuqs of Rúm.

scarcity and famine till pestilence raged, and he captured it in 1434.¹ Thus he grew powerful, his dominion including Cappadocia, Malatía, and all the towns from it to the north sea of the Khazars. He regularly invaded Greek land, ravaging as far as Galatia, Colonia, Heraclea, and all the coast of the north sea. He enslaved, destroyed, and caused loss.

Joscelyn count of Edessa married the daughter of Roger of Antioch and got 'ezáz as dowry with her. He went to bring her to Edessa and stayed the night in Bírta. That night a few men came from Maríba,² the Valley, and the district of Bírta and reported that the Turks had made a raid and taken captive all they met. It was the army of Balaq lord of Hanzíř and the castle of Zaid. He had come from Aleppo with four thousand Turkish horsemen and had sent them on all sides to ravage while he himself had camped at the well called Háíg, a perennial spring in the dominion of Edessa, one of the famous castles opposite the district of Raskaifa. When the Franks heard the news they were eager to pursue the raiders for they had no idea that Balaq was camping near with his whole force. Galerán especially urged Joscelyn on because it was his land. They started in haste at night, mounted poor horses, and pursued, thinking to overtake them in the land of Raskaifa. They came to places where they saw the tracks of the raiders and followed them from night till midday, consumed by thirst, dust, and heat. They followed till they came to Balaq's great camp. They looked and saw an army while they were few, exhausted with riding and the fatigues of the road. The Turks saw them but they could not go back. When they went to water their horses, the Turks ranged themselves on the river bank with their bows and rained arrows on every Frank who approached and his horse. They hemmed them in, shot many, and took the rest alive, Joscelyn, Galerán, and their

¹ December, 1124.

² Bar Heb., *Eccl. Chron.*, i, 389.

knights.¹ They brought them to Balaq, who till then had not believed, thinking it a dream that such princes should in an instant become prisoners. Thus these two famous lords were captured when they never expected it. Balaq took them to the gate of Edessa expecting the town to surrender, but the citizens abused him and said no word of peace. He put his prisoners in Castle Zaid.

King Baldwin was in Antioch when he heard this news ; he at once went to Edessa, stayed there, and put a garrison there under the command of an honoured monk, Godfrey (Gufra) Almuin, until they should know what would happen to Balaq's captives. At this time Michael the Armenian, lord of Gargar, was harassed by the Turks and as he knew that he could not hold the castle he gave it to king Baldwin and received other places to sustain his life.

After surrendering Gargar, Michael was given Dalík, and Baldwin went to Antioch. Balaq continued to harass Gargar, ravaging it, Sumaisát, Gakti, and Castle Manşúr. Baldwin had to come to the rescue again and bring corn from Kaisún and Sumaisát. When Balaq heard that he was at Kaisún, he collected his forces and went to the river Singa between Kaisún and Sumaisát. Baldwin, who did not know that Balaq was so near, kept the feast of the ascension at Kaisún and on the Tuesday they marched without any precautions. They reached the famous bridge of the Singa about one parasang away ; most of the cavalry were far off, indeed they had not reached the river ; the king with a few attendants was ahead with the standard before him, when suddenly Balaq's ambushed troops sprang on him like twilight wolves from all sides, armed, equipped, howling for booty. They surrounded the king like a ring, capturing him, his sister's son, a handsome youth, and many others.² Many were killed. Balaq took the king to Gargar and tortured him till he surrendered the castle. Balaq occupied it and was satisfied.

¹ September, 1122.

² April, 1123.

The land was delivered from the thieves and brigands who infested it and robbed the poor ; there was peace in the land. It is said that Balaq would impale a Turk for taking a bit of meat from a poor man and he would not let any harm the Christians even by word. He put a garrison in Gargar and then took the king and the other prisoners to Castle Zaid to join Joscelyn and Galeran. Joscelyn had been captured in September, the news reached Edessa on the eve of the feast of the Cross, there was no procession that year, instead all was lamentation. In April on Whit-Tuesday Baldwin was taken. When leaving Castle Zaid, Balaq said to Joscelyn, " I will bring the king to you, God willing." So it was, six months later he joined them.

A second time this year Balaq camped against Edessa, ruined the crops and gardens, and laid waste the land. Thence he went to Ḥarrán which surrendered, to Aleppo which also submitted, and then he invaded the Frank lands of Tell Báshir, Dalk, and 'ezáz. He enslaved, plundered, swept away all the villages and sent them to his land. He captured Castle Maṣṣūr and the men of Khalát, doing great evil in Frank land that year.

In August that year 1435 some twenty Armenian soldiers, who served in the strong fort named Between the Castles on the hill of Kaisún, laid a plot with Godfrey Almuin and the queen. They went to Castle Zaid as poor soldiers, ten of them carrying grapes, fruit, and fowls. These pretended to be villagers wanting to complain of the steward who had done them wrong. The others stayed outside ready to join them when the work began. Those carrying loads went to the upper gate of the fort and told the porter the reason of their coming, to complain of the steward. They were told to wait between the gates while the captain was told. He was giving a banquet to the officers, wine was passing, and they were merry. Many of the guard were looking on, only two or three were with the porter in the gate. When the messenger went to the captain, those men took the swords

hanging between the gates, killed the porter and all whom they found, and called to their friends outside who joined them. They held the gate, rushed on the diners, and killed them all.¹ They freed the prisoners, held the castle, and all the Armenians in the town who could joined them. As soon as the disaster was known, news was sent to Balaq in Aleppo. Turks came night and day from all sides and invested the castle closely so that none could go in or out. On the first night Joscelyn on foot with two or three others made bold to leave, broke through the encircling ring, and escaped. He had promised the king not to rest till he had reached Jerusalem and brought an army to relieve them. He went by Kaisún, Tell Báshir, Antioch, to Jerusalem. All rejoiced that Baldwin and Galerán were released and the wealth piled up in Castle Zaid captured. When Balaq heard what had been done in his strong fort, the capital of his kingdom, the treasury of his wealth, he started at once with his troops and reached Castle Zaid in four days, ten days after the disaster. He made a fierce attack and set up great engines that battered the wall without ceasing even for a moment lest the Franks should come. In a few days they made a breach in the wall and Balaq asked the garrison to surrender, promising to spare their lives, as he did not wish to assault the castle and destroy his honour. They battered another great tower over the water supply and razed it to the ground ; when this fell the besieged lost hope and Galerán came in person to ask Balaq's word of honour to spare their lives. He gave it and they handed over the castle.² Balaq entered, tortured the Armenians, and finally flayed them alive. The king and Galerán went back to their former prison.

Joscelyn went to Jerusalem, collected an army, camped outside Aleppo on the hill Jawshán opposite the west gate for three days, and took tribute from them. He wanted to

¹ August, 1123.

² 16th September, 1123.

relieve Castle Zaid but heard that Balaq had taken it and killed the Armenians. He destroyed the mosques on the hill where he camped, one called Dakka and one built for king Ruḍwán, cut down gardens and trees, and went away. A Muslim judge in Aleppo, Abu'l Ḥasan son of Khashsháb, told the Christians to rebuild the two mosques. Two bishops were in the town, an orthodox Edessene Gregory or Samson, and a melkite. The church treasurers would not agree but said, "We will not do this for we should open a door against ourselves that whenever a mosque is destroyed we must rebuild it out of church funds." On the Friday at the judge's order thousands of Muslims with carpenters and axes rushed to the churches; to St. Jacob, broke the pulpit and the angels of the altar, defaced the pictures, made an opening in the south wall of the sanctuary, prayed there, and made it a mosque. The same with the Greek church of the Theotokos and also that of the Nestorians. They sacked the churches and the cells of the bishops. The melkite fled to Antioch, the orthodox to Qal'at Ja'bar. This was in 1435 when Athanasius son of Kammare was patriarch.

When he heard of Joscelyn's movements Balaq hastily gathered his troops, camped near Mabbúj, and wasted the land which was not subject to him. Joscelyn prepared to fight, collected his troops with Godfrey Almuin, another Godfrey, and Mahi, met him near Mabbúj, and the battle began. Balaq was defeated, many of his soldiers perished, and he went back to Mabbúj meaning to punish the citizens for not helping him. While fighting against Mabbúj he was struck by an arrow from the wall and died.¹ They took him to Aleppo and buried him apart from the family of Ortuq.

At the time of the events at Castle Zaid in 1435 some Franks called Venetians got together a great army, equipped many ships, and sailed the sea to Palestine under their king whose name was Dukus. They came to the coast of Tyre and Sidon and beached their ships. The Franks heard of

¹ 6th May, 1124.

this arrival so the patriarch of Jerusalem came to them for Baldwin the king was a prisoner. They besieged Tyre because it was populous, still belonged to the Muslims, and all who escaped from lands conquered by the Franks went to it. They attacked it from land and sea, fought against it with all kinds of weapons of war, and set up great engines which battered it night and day. They built two strong towers of wood, of seven storeys, each ten cubits high. They covered them with strong planks of damp oak that naphtha might have no effect on them. When finished they drew them near the wall. Now the city had not one wall but three with small walls outside them, and a deep moat between them. The walls were armed carefully and on them was a strong force with arms, and the men of Tyre fought valiantly. The siege lasted seven months, the walls were breached, the engines destroyed many towers, but the garrison were not shaken for they had food. They were in great distress when food ran short. Their Egyptian lord gave them no hope. They turned to the then governor of Damascus for him to help them and rule over them. The correspondence was by means of pigeons for there was no way for a man to go in or out. The governor of Damascus gathered a great army to help them and sent this message by a pigeon, "On a certain day I am coming to relieve you with a great army, be strong, resist bravely, be not slack." By God's will the bird fell in the Frank camp. They read the message and wrote another in the opposite sense, "You have written that we should come to your aid. We cannot come, have no troops to resist those assembled against you, and can give you no hope. Surrender the city, making sure of your lives." They tied this to the bird and let it go. When the men of Tyre read this they lost hope as they had no food. (A tale about Alexander the Great is omitted.)

They sent honourable citizens to the Dukus the chief of the Franks and the patriarch and begged that their lives might be spared. It was agreed that those who wished

might stay in the city and those who wished might go where they chose with their families, children, and property, being conveyed in peace and safety. They opened the gates and the Franks entered and took possession in July.¹ Baldwin, Joscelyn (?), and Galeran were still prisoners.

The release of Baldwin and the death of Galeran. (A title but no paragraph.)

Burski, whose defeat was recorded, saw in a dream in Mosul that eleven dogs rent him. When he woke he told his dream and was warned to be on his guard and not to go to prayers that day. He refused to omit the public prayer on Friday in the big mosque and as he went in by the door at midday, as is Muslim custom, eleven Ismailians surrounded him, pierced him with knives, and slew him.² In Mosul and Assyria his son, who was also called Burski, succeeded him.

The Franks assembled, king Baldwin, Saint Gilles of Tripoli, Joscelyn count of Edessa, and were joined by a Muslim exile, Dubais of Hilla and Irak. He had come to Antioch and was on the side of the Franks. With a great army they besieged Aleppo,³ attacking it on all sides for nine months. The citizens were in great distress from famine and even ate unclean animals. After nine months when they were on the point of surrender, a message came that Bursuqi, governor of Assyria, had come to help them. Dubais proposed that he should be given an army to prevent Bursuqi from crossing the Euphrates till they had captured the town. The Franks were obstinate and would not take his advice. Bursuqi crossed the Euphrates, and boldly entered the town at night.⁴ In the morning the citizens opened the gates, marched out with Bursuqi, and attacked the Franks, who moved away from the town, camped on the hill Jawshán, and ten days later moved off towards Antioch. Bursuqi followed them as far as Athárib (Tharib), cutting off stragglers,

¹ A.D. 1124.

³ October, 1124.

² November, 1126.

⁴ January, 1125.

and plundering the baggage. Bursuqi returned to Aleppo with great joy.

Bursuqi then besieged 'ezáz, setting up engines to batter the wall night and day; he made tunnels in the ground under the wall and harassed the garrison. When the Franks heard this they gathered in Antioch under Baldwin and Joscelyn but feared to come to the relief of the town because the Turkish army was very big. The garrison was in great straits, none could go in or out, but one man felt his zeal stirred to take the news of their distress to the king. They promised him a reward if he came back safe. He mounted a valiant horse, took a sword in his hand, and a pigeon in his breast, went through the gate like lightning, jumped over rank after rank of the infantry who watched the gate, leaped the ditch which had been dug round the place and crossed to the other side. The enemy sprang at him from all sides but could not stop him and he reached Antioch to give his message to the king. The Franks started to relieve 'ezáz, hoping in God. They sent a letter by the pigeon, "On a certain day we shall relieve you. Be strong and faint not." The bird came down in the camp of the Turks who wrote a letter in the contrary sense under Joscelyn's name, "There is no hope from us, the king is engaged with the Egyptians who encompass him. Save your lives and surrender the fort." When the garrison read this they were divided and said, "We will endure, lest there happen to us like the pigeon at Tyre; perhaps it is a forged letter. Let us be strong; endure as long as we can; let us die and not surrender." The Turks saw that their trick had failed, sent some of their baggage back to Aleppo to save it from the Franks, and sent spies to Antioch to know when the Franks moved. In a few days these reported that the Franks had started. The Turks sent all their stuff to Aleppo, set fire to the engines, and only the fighting men remained. The Franks stored their stuff at Cyrrhus, and left the hill for the big plain above Killiz. The Turks, on seeing the Franks,

turned up and down, and were on the right and left of them. The Franks who were few passed between the Turks without fighting and camped where the Turkish camp had been. The Turks saw that they were few, took heart, and argued in this way. "If they stop we can cut the roads and they will die of hunger; if they run it will be a sign of fear and we will pursue them." The Franks put a sufficient number of men in the castle with these instructions. "We are going a little to the west where we and our horses can rest and get food and water. (There was none at 'ezáz.) If the enemy pursue, watch them and, when all have come out of their places of concealment and they are in one body behind us, raise a sign of smoke on the castle. What God wishes will be." The Franks moved at dawn on the road to Antioch and, when the Turks followed, pretended to flee. The Turks were encouraged, all their men who were in ambush showed themselves, and pursued whole-heartedly. The smoke sign was raised on the castle. The king gave an order, the trumpets called, the royal standards were brought to the rear, and God was angry with the Turks, who fled losing two thousand slain.¹ Only Bursuqi and a few others escaped though pursued to Aleppo. He went back to Mosul and died in Raḥba (Rahbut) on the Euphrates.²

King Baldwin fetched from Europe Bohemund son of Bohemund I of Antioch (after his release from captivity to Dánishmand he had gone to his own land), betrothed him to his daughter, and made him governor of Antioch.³ He fetched another young man of the count's family Fuk,⁴ betrothed him to another daughter, and proclaimed him king in Jerusalem in his own lifetime. Tughtagin, lord of Damascus and Bányás, saw that he could not hold Bányás,

¹ June, 1125.

² The historian confuses Áq-sunqur al-Bursuqi, the deliverer of Aleppo, whose murder in 1126 is related above, with his son Mas'úd, who died at Raḥba in 1127.

³ End of 1126.

⁴ Fulk.

for it was encircled by Christian territory, so gave it to Bahrán an Ismaili. He accepted it, collected five hundred men, sent gifts to the Frank king, and offered him his allegiance.¹

Armenians, sons of Ráfin, lords of Cilicia, opposed Ghází son of Dánishmand, their brigands plundering his lands. Ghází being a mighty prince started to conquer their land. Bohemund of Antioch who also suffered from them prepared to conquer Cilicia.

When Bohemund of Antioch with his army invaded Cilicia, Ghází invaded it from the other side, and at once the Frank and Turkish armies met—both had come to destroy the land.² The Turks surrounded Bohemund and destroyed his army, not one escaping, and Bohemund, a noble youth, was slain. They took his head, skinned it for the fine hair on it, and sent the skin of his head with other fine things, shields, Frank spears, and saddles to the great sultan of Ispahan as gifts and presents of victory. Thus the two princes destroyed one another and the Armenians were set free. It is strange that Dánishmand father of Ghází destroyed the army of Bohemund the elder, father of this Bohemund, and took him captive, while his son Ghází destroyed the army of this Bohemund and killed the youth the son.

In 1442 (A.D. 1131) the great Turkish sultan of Ispahan died.³ There was a severe earthquake with many deaths in Khurásán. The caliph in Baghdad invested with sovereignty Ghází son of Dánishmand, lord of Cappadocia and Malaṭia, who was more powerful than all the Turkish princes in those parts.

In this year Joscelyn of Edessa, who was advanced in years but did not rest from fighting, gathered an army to destroy a castle named Tell 'arrán between Aleppo and Mabbúj wherein dwelt robbers who wasted the country continually. He dug tunnels under it to make breaches in it, went down

¹ A.D. 1129.

² A.D. 1130.

³ Ghiyáth ud Dín.

to see them for himself, and a breach fell on him and buried him. When they dug him out he was at his last gasp so they carried him back to Tell Báshir, for his body was crushed and he was very ill. While he was ill, Ghází gathered an army to invade the lands of the Armenians, the sons of Ráfin. When Joscelyn heard this, he bade an army be collected and was carried on a sick bed to meet Ghází who went back to his own land on hearing this news. Joscelyn reached Dalík, died, and was buried in the church there.¹ His son Joscelyn, a youth void of understanding, ruled after him. In this year also died Baldwin king of Jerusalem and his son-in-law Sir Fuk (Fulk of Anjou) reigned in his stead. As was said above he was made king in the lifetime of his father-in-law. In Antioch after Bohemund son of Bohemund ruled Pítabín son of Pítabín, of whom we said that his army was destroyed in Anatolia and he returned to his own land.²

In the east after the death of Bursuqi the younger in Raḥba the great sultan appointed in 1443 (rightly A.D. 1127) Zangi son of Áqsunqur commander in the east. He was a companion of Buzán, who was mentioned before the coming of the Franks. Tutush Táj ul Mulúk, that is Crown of the Lords, killed them.³ The sultan in Baghdad was Mas'úd, nephew of Sinjarshah the great, son of Abu'l Fath Malikshah, who entered Syria in the days of Philartus the Domesticus and appointed Yághí-Siyán (Yaghsiyan) to Antioch, Buzán to Edessa, and Tughtagín (Tughdakin) to Damascus. Sinjarshah was born to Abu'l Fath of the great queen in Shígar which is Sinjar and so he got his name. At this time Mas'úd nephew of Sinjarshah ruled the lands of Ispahan, Khurásán, Irak, Baghdad, and the whole district to the south-east. The lands of Assyria to the north-west were subject to him. In Mosul the government was by his authority, a commander

¹ A.D. 1131.

² Raymond son of William of Poitou.

³ A.D. 1094.

who was called Atábek by the Turks ; he ruled all Mesopotamia, the north, Aleppo, and all Phœnicia. Then in Mosul were the famous Şaláh ud dín, Naşr ud dín, and Zain ud dín 'alí, Turks who had influence with the sultan. When Bursuqi died they held all authority in the east ; they (?) urged the sultan to appoint as commander Zangi son of Áqsunqur, 'imád ud dín. This was done and he made Zangi commander over Assyria, all Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phœnicia. He gave him the two young sons of the sultan Mas'úd to be lords of the lands and Zangi was their guardian. At this time died Mas'úd of Ispahan ; he was succeeded by his son Sulaimanshah in Hamadán.¹

¹ Quite wrong. Mas'úd died in 1152, his brother Sulaimánshah did not succeed till 1159.

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The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle (Concluded from p. 101)

Author(s): A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2 (Apr., 1933), pp. 273-305

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1933

PART II.—APRIL

The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle

TRANSLATED BY A. S. TRITTON

WITH NOTES BY H. A. R. GIBB

(Concluded from p. 101.)

IN 1443 Zangi advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of Edessa and besieged a fort to the east of the town which the Franks had surprised from an Arab, Maní' son of 'utair. Zangi took the fort of Shann,¹ marched close to Edessa, sent an ambassador to the townsmen, and said that he did not wish to fight the Franks but to be at peace ² with them. They sent him gifts and presents from the town, food and drink, and he passed on to Aleppo.

Táj ul Mulúk ruled in Damascus after the death of his father Tughtagín; after a time Ismailians killed him.³ His brothers and young sons who were left did not agree. A great chief Unur (Yunar) who had been with Táj ul Mulúk seized Damascus in the name of one of his sons and another son took Baalbek. Zangi took an army and besieged Baalbék, setting up engines which battered that wonderful building day and night so that every day a thousand great stones were hurled against it.⁴ In their distress they surrendered;

¹ As-Sinn at junction of Lower Záb with Tigris; in 1129.

² Blank in MS.

³ A.D. 1132.

⁴ A.D. 1139.

thus Zangi captured Baalbek and then began to fight constantly against Damascus.

When Unur of Damascus saw that Zangi was strong and like to prevail while his own strength was insufficient, he sought aid from the king of Jerusalem and bribed him to come to help him. The king gathered an army and advanced till he was close to Zangi. Craftily Zangi retired before him as if running away, till the king had penetrated far into those lands, and then turned on him fiercely so that the king was defeated and his army fled. The Turks began to slay with the sword so the king with a few men fled to Husn ul Akrád in the land of Tripoli and hid there with the men who escaped. Zangi besieged it till the garrison were in great straits and ate horses and donkeys without salt. The king sent to Pítabín of Antioch and Joscelyn the younger of Edessa to gather their forces and come to his aid. He was in great distress till they had collected and come. When Zangi heard of the commotion, assembling, and coming of the Franks, and of the distress of the king, he sent special dainties to him, made an agreement and established a covenant with oaths and promises, and went away.¹ Soon the Frank force arrived and wanted to pursue Zangi but the king would not allow it because of his covenant and oath. Zangi grew strong, fought Damascus constantly, and took its land and Tadmur in the desert.

After making peace with the king Zangi did not again attack the Franks but all his fighting was to take the lands of the Muslims and bring them under his sway. There was a fort near Aleppo named Athárib (Tarib) and another Hadadna ² under a Frank chief who took an army and laid waste the land of Aleppo, taking captives and departing. When he heard the news, Zangi took an army and invested these places.³ In their distress they asked him to swear to spare their lives. He swore deceitfully that he would take

¹ This refers to the siege of Fulk in Ba'rin in A.D. 1137.

² Zaradna ?

³ A.D. 1135.

them to the gate of Antioch. When they opened the gate, he took them all, men and women, boys and girls, to Aleppo, to the gate of Antioch, thus keeping his oath. He slew all the men with the sword and the women and children became slaves and slave girls.

When Ghází son of Dánishmand died,¹ his son Muhammad reigned in his land. He became strong and his yoke was heavy on his possessions in Cappadocia, especially on the men of Malaṭia. He oppressed them with taxes and poll tax. God slew him by an evil disease and he died. Ghází had two sons Dawla and Ya'kúb; when Muhammad died, Dawla ruled after him.²

In 1446 (rightly 1137) zeal awoke in the emperor of the Greeks, John, to invade Syria. He collected an army of four hundred thousand men, Greeks and Franks, Germans (?) and Hungarians (?), and got ready to march along the coast of Cilicia so that the sea should be beside him and his baggage be carried in ships and ships bring fodder and food to his men regularly. Then the ruler of Cilicia was Leo (Lábún son of Ráfin) the Armenian, the maternal uncle of Joscelyn the younger of Edessa. Leo progressed and grew strong and when Bohemund was killed in his land he prevailed still more over the Franks and the land on the coast called Tagra,³ capturing Tarsus and Maşîṣa. He caused great loss to the Franks. When Pítabín ruled in Antioch this enmity grew. Leo regularly ravaged the lands of the Greeks to the annoyance of the emperor. At the time of the emperor's invasion, Pítabín gathered his army and ravaged Cilicia. Leo prepared to fight but a Frank ambush surprised and captured him and he was taken to Antioch a captive.⁴ While a prisoner there, the emperor reached the Cilician Gates and sent a

¹ c. 1126 according to the Byzantine chroniclers, but see above, p. 100.

² 'ain ud-Dawla b. Ghází, first of the Malaṭia branch of the Dánishmand family, d. 1151.

³ Arabic التغر, i.e. Lower Cilicia.

⁴ A.D. 1137.

message to the Franks that all under his authority who wished him well should come to pay their respects to him. Joscelyn and Pítabín came to do homage to the emperor, meeting him beyond Tarsus; he received them joyfully and they went back to their cities. He took Tarsus, Maşísa, Adana, and captured Anazarba after a siege. He advanced to the plain of Antioch, his army spreading in all directions in the hills and plains doing great damage to the villages of the Christians. The rulers of Antioch and Edessa came again to do homage to the emperor. He desired to put the baggage of his army and his treasure in Antioch as a pledge that when he had conquered the lands of the Muslims he would give them to the lord of Antioch instead of it. The lord of Antioch did not like this. The emperor had marched out with a great army, abundant treasure, his four sons, his brothers, his sons-in-law, and all his court. He had sworn an oath that until his death he would not go back with his Cæsars, Augusti, Patricians, and the rest of his nobles, without winning a great victory. So he proposed but God gives victory and authority and increases the salvation of kings. When Pítabín returned to Antioch he set free Leo who went to his own land and then to the emperor as a suppliant. He made him a prisoner and sent him to Constantinople with his sons and household.

While the emperor was in the plain of Antioch and the Franks were deceiving him, not being straight with him, came bad news deserving of groans from Adana for a bitter judgment had overtaken it. Adana was full of Jacobite Christians with their metropolitan John (Jesus son of Arik) of Edessa. When the emperor captured it he left a force to guard it and moved on to Antioch. They rejoiced to be under Greek rule and freed from the severe taxes of the Franks. While they were quiet and unsuspecting at dawn on a Sunday a Turkish army¹ came upon them, surrounding them like a moat. They began at once a fierce attack like a wind (?) of swords, planting ladders against the walls and

¹ Belonging to the Saljuqid sultan of Konia, Mas'úd (1137).

swarming up them. When they pushed them down on one side they sprang up on another. The garrison were weakened by the blows of arrows and stones and the great assault (?) that encircled them. They endured in this distress from dawn till midday. God turned his face from them and they were delivered into the hands of the enemy in a way marvellous to tell, incredible to the hearer. A Turk climbed a ladder against the wall and, when he reached the top, the wall was still above him. He gripped a stone projecting from the wall and stood on it. One of the garrison who stood on the wall above him, thrust at him with his spear to throw him down. The Turk laid hold of the spear and the man on top pulled it hard to release it from his grip and in this way the Turk was pulled up on to the battlements. He brandished his sword at the man below who gave way before him and went down ; fear and trembling took hold of those near and they fled. The Turks were encouraged, climbed up after the pioneer and seized the wall. In a moment it was full of Turks. They went down into the town, opened the gates, and the army entered. God was angry with Adana and its inhabitants. They drove out all the people, made the men kneel, and killed them with the sword ; they sacked the houses, convents, and churches ; gathered spoil without end ; and took captive boys and girls, whole groups. They took also the metropolitan, priests, and young deacons, binding them with ropes and taking them into sad captivity. They destroyed the town, laid it waste, and went to their own land. When the news reached the emperor he sent an army to pursue the Turks, but it did not overtake them as they had seven days' start. The captives were sold in various places, especially in Malaṭia. Those who escaped went back to the town ; the emperor took care of them and gave them what they needed to maintain life. Adana was destroyed five months after the emperor's start. Winter came, he spent it with the army in Cilicia ; there was much sickness and many deaths.

At the end of October, when the emperor was in Cilicia, a great multitude assembled in Sumaisât to go to Edessa, for only a great company could travel by reason of the enemies who always beset and ambushed the roads. There were carriers of fodder, wine, and all the necessities of life, men and beasts without number, accompanied by Frank horsemen and footmen. When they had crossed the Euphrates and were within a few miles of Edessa, the forces of Timurtásh son of Ghází, lord of Mardín and Mayyafáriqín, ten thousand horse, overtook them at sunset on the 29th October, 1447, and fought with them the whole night. They were harassed from the dawn of that bitter day till noon and the justice of God thundered against the caravan beside a village named Patal on the road to Edessa. The Turks fell on them with the sword, killed an endless number, captured thousands, took spoil without measure, horses, ponies, mules, and asses passing count. They took the captives and brought them in bonds to the wall by the gate of Edessa, lines and lines of them, and addressed the townsmen. "Fools, why do you hope? Deliver the town and I will set free your prisoners." They did not submit so he went away as he had no engines to besiege the town.

When winter passed and spring came ¹ the emperor prepared to enter Syria and sent to the Frank chiefs according to agreement. He passed by Mar'ash, 'ain Táb, Tell Báshir, and came to Mabbúj. Joscelyn led him to besiege the fort of Buzá'a between Mabbúj and Aleppo. He captured it, with its lord, sacked the place and gave it to Joscelyn.

In 1448 (1449) ² they marched from Buzá'a and passed by Aleppo, seeming to it like locusts, an army without number. The hearts of the men of Aleppo were shaken for they thought that he had come to attack them, and knew that if he did, the town would soon be taken. But the deceitful Franks did not wish the emperor well, showed him a false appearance

¹ A.D. 1138.

² i.e. A.D. 1138.

of affection, advised him not to attack Aleppo then, but gave him the bad and fatal advice to besiege Shaizar, a strong fortress. It is a strong fort situated on the top of a high rock with a river flowing at its foot below the rock. It was held by noble Arabs called Banú Munqidh, kin to the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar who, as we said, gave security for Baldwin when he was ransomed from Mosul. They were noble natured, loved all men, and were good mediators at all times. Zangi was in Aleppo and rejoiced when he saw the bad policy of the Greeks and Franks because he then realized that they were at cross purposes and that he had for the moment avoided war. While they blockaded Shaizar, Zangi like a prudent man protected his own borders and advanced near to the Greek camp. They attacked the place but uselessly though they themselves began to suffer from famine, for they were a huge army and Zangi wisely prevented the arrival of supplies. When famine grew severe and there was no means of taking the place by assault, the emperor saw the treachery of the Franks in wasting his time in the siege of this fort. The garrison sent ambassadors to the emperor saying, "The Franks have misled you ; have brought you to invest this place, though we have done wrong to none and have not molested the Christians." They sent him presents, sacramental vessels of gold and silver, crosses of gold obtained in victories over the emperors and preserved by them from the days of their fathers. The emperor left Shaizar, went to Antioch, and after a toilsome march to Anazarba, having done nothing that summer.

Zangi marched to Buzá'a, took it, and killed all the Franks in it. The prisoners who had been taken at its capture (by the Franks) were in 'ezáz ; every day they were taken into the bean fields to eat as food was scarce. Zangi put a strong troop in ambush which seized the way of return as these men spread over the fields. Many of the guards were killed and all the captives released and taken to Buzá'a.

The emperor was in Cilicia ; his eldest son died, was

embalmed, and sent to the capital ; soon after another son died, was embalmed, and taken to the capital. The emperor was deeply grieved and went back to Constantinople, without taking one house from the Muslims or having won one victory.

At the turn of the year the emperor John again prepared and came to Tarsus with a big army ; he sent for the Frank chiefs, blamed them for what had gone before, and arranged a marriage that they might agree in true love. While arranging this he went hunting one day as a holiday. A deer got up, he laid an arrow in his bow to shoot it, and the point wounded his left hand. It became inflamed, his arm swelled, and in a few days he was dead.¹ With him was his young son Emmanuel who had been proclaimed emperor in his father's lifetime. The army embalmed him, took him with his son to Constantinople in great distress. In that year 1449 (1450) ² was a severe earthquake, many towns were ruined especially in Cilicia and Syria. The strong fort of Athárib disappeared in the ground as if it had never been. Jerusalem was spared. At this time the king of Jerusalem died and Baldwin his son reigned.³

Zangi, lord of the Turks in the eastern lands and Aleppo, having no anxiety from the side of the Christian princes, crossed the Euphrates and attacked the sons of Ortuq, Timurtásh and the sons of Dáúd, taking captives from their lands and capturing Dára, Tell Muzalt, Gumlín, and all Shabaktan. He took Hánín, Araqnín, and Hámíma.⁴ In their extremity the sons of Ortuq asked help of Joscelyn of Edessa, giving him the fort of Bábúla in the land of Gargar. He prepared to join them in fighting Zangi. He being crafty made peace with the Ortuquids who were very willing as Joscelyn could not give them the help they had hoped for. Zangi felt aggrieved with Joscelyn and employed every

¹ A.D. 1143.

² Michel le Syrien, iii, 251.

³ A.D. 1143. Here the text has an account of the crusade by the emperor of Germany. As it is repeated almost word for word in the proper place it is omitted from the translation here.

⁴ A.D. 1141-3.

means of capturing Edessa, sending spies constantly to know if the town were empty of troops. There was in Ḥarrán a chief of the Muslims named Faql ullah son of Ja'far who hated the men of Edessa ; to him the spies went and by him they were directed. At that time Zangi was besieging Ámid.

Joscelyn gathered all his troops and went to raid the districts on the Euphrates near Balis and ar-Raqqā. The chief of Ḥarrán at once told Zangi at Ámid that the town was emptied of soldiers. He at once sent doughty warriors under the brave Ṣalāḥ ud dín if perhaps they might take Edessa by surprise. If they could not do this, they were to assault it and try its strength. If it was defended boldly and strongly they were to return, otherwise they were to invest it and call for him. When the expedition started, Zangi followed it. They marched in haste all that day and the next night and had they arrived in the dark they would have taken the town as the inhabitants expected nothing of the sort. But heavy rain fell, the night was extra dark, so when the expedition came near the town, they lost their way, and dawn found them on the road to Ḥarrán ; and when they returned surprise was hopeless. They attacked the town at dawn on Tuesday, 28th November, 1455, reached the mounds of the town, and killed some men between the walls. When they saw the weakness of the town they sent pigeons to Zangi to come at once. He arrived at dawn on the Thursday with an army as numerous as the stars, which filled all the plain round the town. They surrounded it rank behind rank and pitched their tents round it like beggars ; they took care to pitch the tents within the outworks. Zangi pitched his tent on the north opposite the Gate of the Hours on the hill above the church of the Confessors. To the east of him was the tent of the great king, the sultan's son, and to the north of him was the tent of a prudent Persian, Jamál ud dín the vizier, who was in charge of all the taxes and revenue of Zangi's land. He camped on the hill of the Observers. The great and wise Ṣalāḥ ud dín, Zangi's

commander-in-chief, pitched on the west opposite the Fountain gate on the hill of the graveyard where is the tomb of Mar Ephraim. Above him at the head of the valley of Sulaimán was Zain ud dín 'alí Kuchak, lord of Arbíl and Shahrazúr, opposite in the garden of Barşúma. On the east of the Kasas gate was the great chief Dubais,¹ lord of the lower lands opposite Babylon, who for an offence had once joined the Franks.² North of him in the garden of Buzán was Abú 'alí (Bu 'ali) lord of Za'farán and Araqnín. To the north-east the sons of Bagsag,³ rulers of Sababark⁴ and the shores of the Euphrates, camped. South of the Kasas gate was 'ain ud dawla lord of Shabaktan; south of that again camped various tribes of Turkmen; at the South gate towards Harrán were many tribes of Kurds, and above them many foot soldiers, Arabs, and men of Aleppo. On the west opposite the citadel Hasan of Mabbúj pitched his camp.

The town was very weak as there were no soldiers in it, only cobblers, weavers, silk merchants, tailors, priests, and deacons. Three bishops were in it, the Frank Papias⁵ who took command, the Syrian Basilius son of Shumna a native of the town, and the Armenian Ahnanius. They resisted stoutly and fought as long as they could. The enemy set up engines, each leader doing so, and battered the wall violently; they dug mines under it on the north side under the bridge outside the gate of Hours and reached the foundations while fighting went on constantly. Zangi tried to weaken them by sending proposals of peace (they did not listen) for he wished a surrender so that the town should not be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. He said to them: "Fools, you see that there is no hope of saving your lives, why do you watch and hope? Have mercy on yourselves, your sons and daughters,

¹ Muhammad b. Dubais. Dubais was killed in 1129.

² A.D. 1124.

³ Same as Bāsag (?), p. 72. Cf. Michel Le Syrien, iii, 247.

⁴ Formerly Semkat.

⁵ The metropolitan.

your wives and houses, and your city, that it be not laid waste and empty of inhabitants." There was no one in the town who had authority, each one did as he pleased, so they were left to ruin and a bad end. They answered Zangi rudely with insults and abuse, foolishly, beyond all measure. The Syrian bishop proposed and took counsel with the Frank bishop that they should write to Zangi asking for a truce for a fixed time in case help should come. This seemed good so they took advice from other prudent men, wrote the letter, and read it to the people. The object was to postpone the decision while they drew breath, for they had lost hope of life, were tired, weary, and exhausted with work on a new wall opposite the mines; the women, girls, and boys were fatigued beyond words by carrying stones, water, and other necessities to the labourers and fighting men; stones from the engines fell on them from without and there was no end to the tribulation they suffered. Therefore the bishop thought they should arrange a truce to get some relief or postpone a little the wrath that threatened them. They saw the wall broken on all sides by the engines; in the mine on the north the foundation of the wall was destroyed while beams, pieces of wood, and rows of coverings (?) were put in its place, and the gaps between them were filled with naphtha, oil, and sulphur, that they might burn like a torch and the wall fall. Then an ignorant silk merchant named Ḥasnún put out his hand and tore the letter; there was a great commotion and this wise plan was foiled. Although Zangi said, "If you want a truce we will grant it. If help come—; and if not, surrender and be safe." He did not want the town to be ruined but when he saw that persuasion was useless, as Scripture says "The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart to his destruction".

Zangi gave orders to start the fire beneath the wall and Righteousness ordered the destruction of the town. Heralds called the camps to prepare for fighting that, when the wall fell, they should leap into the town through the breach.

He allowed the sack of the town for three days. The fire devoured the oil and sulphur and began on the beams; they poured oil on it while a north wind blew the smoke into the faces of the garrison. The great wall swayed and fell and the temporary rampart proved to be too short at both ends, for the part that fell was longer than what they had built. The garrison fought in the two gaps from dawn till the third hour on the eve of the feast of the Mother of God, 24th December. When many had been killed, the Turks forced their way in (God was angry with the inhabitants) and slew with the sword, sparing none. That day about six thousand were killed.

When the Turks entered, the women, children, and youths ran to the upper citadel to escape from the enemy and hide from destruction. The gate was shut according to the bad custom of the Franks and their bishop had given orders that it was not to be opened unless they saw him. The crowd was crushed together, rank after rank, from fear of death and captivity, pushing upwards, treading on one another—a pitiable sight and full of terror—they were squashed and crushed into a solid mass and some five thousand were miserably suffocated. Ten thousand boys and girls were led into captivity. When Zangi came near the citadel and saw those who had been crushed to death he was perturbed and at once stopped the slaughter. The Frank bishop was killed by an axe on the road to the citadel and many priests, deacons, and monks were slain.

When Zangi came to the citadel gate, he spoke peaceably to them and asked them to surrender, promising to save their lives. Some of them came out to ask security for the Franks in it. Among them was the priest (but not of God) Barşuma of Ishmael.¹ By his power of talk he had made himself prominent in the citadel. Zangi gave a sworn promise and they surrendered two days after the capture of the town. The next day Zangi reviewed the prisoners from all the camps,

¹ Ten lines describe this man's wickedness, mainly theological.

some were selected and sent into captivity. They set guards that no Turk might hurt the townsmen and at the gates that none might enter the town. The men of Edessa went to their homes and Zangi gave them what they needed, fodder, etc., and cheered them. They dwelt in their homes.

We now proceed to tell what happened to those in the citadel, when it was surrendered to the Turks and when a multitude without end of women and children perished, being chosen for captivity. They were about two thousand ; six thousand or more died by the sword or suffocation in front of the citadel. The governor released about ten thousand from the soldiers ; those who hid underground or in the two forts also escaped. When the upper fort was taken and they received the promise of their lives, Zangi fetched the metropolitan Basilus who was in the keeping of a soldier, and they began to bring out the Franks from the citadel with their women and children, and priests and deacons, with much gold, vessels of silver, and raiment. Many of the townsmen had joined them to go with them for Zangi had sworn to take them across the Euphrates that they might go where they wished. The commander Ṣalāḥ ud dīn went into the citadel, took the metropolitan by the hand and said, " We want your holiness to swear on the cross and the gospel to be true to us for you know well that you all deserve death because you have resisted our authority and despised our prophet. We are ready to treat you well and set free those of you who are captives. You know that from the time when the Muslims conquered this town it remained under their power two hundred years and was populous like a capital city ; to-day it is fifty years since the Franks took it and they have ruined its territory as you see. The governor is ready to treat you well, so live in peace, shelter under the authority of his rule, and pray for him." They brought out of the citadel all the townsmen in it, Syrians and Armenians, and all went to their homes. They robbed the Franks of all they had, gold and silver, church vessels,

cups and bowls, crosses and many jewels. They set apart the priests, nobles, and chiefs, stripped them, and sent them prisoners to Aleppo; of the others they set apart some as craftsmen, leaving them to work as prisoners each man in his trade; about one hundred more or less were tortured. Some they made targets for arrows, some they slew with the sword, and so all were undone.

Then Zangi called the metropolitan, charged him straitly to keep truth with the Muslims, gave to the men of Edessa cattle, oxen, and fodder, and made the Turk Zain ud dín 'alí Kuchak, lord of Arbíl and Shahrazúr, governor of the town with seven other chiefs and a strong garrison to guard it. Four days after the siege Zangi went past Harrán to Callinicus (ar Raqqa) on the Euphrates. The men of Edessa redeemed their captives and were given the town. The governor Zain ud dín was a just man and showed them much kindness.

Forty days after the siege Zangi sent his army to Sarúj, the Christians fled to al Bira, and the Turks took Sarúj. They marched on al Bira on the new moon of March, 1455 (A.D. 1144), and Zangi himself came with all his forces and set ten engines up against it in a fierce attack. The fighting lasted without break from Easter Thursday till the evening of Sunday of the Resurrection the 24th day. They destroyed the outer wall. In a further attack they mounted the wall and held the outer castle. There was a great noise which rent the earth; but the garrison took heart, drew their swords, sprang on the Turks, and drove them in headlong flight.

A commander of the count, Robert the Fat, with another also named Robert, both tried and mighty warriors, with two hundred men, came to Qal'at ar Rúm on the Euphrates a day's journey or less above al Bira. They armed two boats and embarked in them, making defensive works of broad planks and shields, took with them provisions and weapons such as were needed, and sailed down the river. When they were near the fort they did a foolish thing, they sounded the

trumpets. The Turks heard the call and were startled ; they rushed up from all directions and, when they saw that the boats were coming to relieve the garrison, attacked them from both banks and from boats in midstream. The garrison did not know what had happened and fear fell on them at the sound of the trumpets for they thought it was an enemy attack. When the boats came near the bank there was no one to throw a rope or stretch out a spear to hold them. They jumped one by one into the water and came out quickly in great fear. Some were carried down by the stream and were caught by the enemy ; some were drowned. The boat in which was Robert the Fat was driven below the fort and came into the midst of the enemy as there had been none to hold it. They lost hope and some jumped into the water to drown while the Turks killed those who stayed on board. Robert the Fat threw himself into the river, walked in the mud, and reached a village on the west bank. As he was barefoot and very heavy he could not go far but hid in a barn full of straw. That day some Turks came to the village for straw, found him in that barn, seized and took him to Zangi who sent him with the prisoners to Aleppo. The other Robert with the few survivors got into the fort. During the fighting he was wounded in the eye by an arrow and died at once. The siege of the fort lasted forty days.

While the siege was in progress a messenger on a camel, riding like a storm in the night, brought the news that Naṣr ud dīn,¹ Zangi's lieutenant, had been killed in Mosul and Assyria was in revolt. He had left in haste and did not know what had happened in the town. Zangi was frightened for he thought that the sultan's son had made himself king and seized all his province and he also feared the army that was with him. At once he summoned Zain ud dīn of Arbīl and Edessa and sent him hurriedly to Mosul to take Naṣr ud dīn's place. Zangi that night left al Bīra and went to Aleppo lest a revolt should break out there. When morning

¹ Naṣr ud dīn.

dawned there was no one in the camp, not a tent or a man. They saw this marvel from the fort, that the flame (of war) was taken away from them. Thus al Bira was saved from Zangi after a siege of forty days.

Naṣr ud dīn was stationed in Mosul to uphold Zangi's authority as his deputy ; he was a great warrior, a commander, wise and prudent. The two sons of the great Turk sultan who ruled in Persia were in Zangi's care. When their uncle Mas'ūd came to the throne in Ispahan he sent them with Zangi whom he had appointed to guard these lands. He took the two youths with him as if the lands had been given them by their uncle and he was their guardian and the commander of their army. They had all the honour due to kings ; one lived in Mosul and the other moved about with Zangi who held the land in his name. In name he was their servant, in fact they were his servants. When the one ¹ who lived in Mosul grew up, some reminded him that he was a king, that the land belonged to him and his father, that he had no power and was like a slave, that he ought to act as a king instead of being obedient to slaves. He hearkened to them ; they plotted to kill Naṣr un dīn, seize Mosul and the house of Zangi. In the morning when Naṣr ud dīn came according to custom to pay his respects to the sultan's son, slaves killed him between the doors of the great hall, and fear fell on the town. But the Kurdish troops in Mosul and the slaves of Naṣr ud dīn took heart, united, entered the hall, seized the sultan's son, and imprisoned him in an apartment. Ten days later Zain ud dīn arrived with Zangi's commission. They handed over to him the town, forts, treasury, and all authority. He was firmly seated as ruler, seized many who had caused the revolt, impaled them, and had the sultan's son killed secretly.

'ain ud dawla of Shabaktan was governor of Edessa after Zain ud dīn ; Faql ullah son of Ja'far, chief of Ḥarrán, who was the cause of the capture of the town, was also there.

¹ Alp-Arslán b. Mahmúd.

Those who lived there after the first captivity did not turn from their evil ways though the bishop exhorted them, reminding them of the diaster that had befallen them.¹ 'abdún was prominent in wickedness though nearly eighty years old. Baršúma of Ishmael was another evil man. Women of Edessa married Turks, paining the spirit of God. Before the Turks had been a year in the town, more than a hundred women had married pagans. So God was angry with them, forsook them, and delivered them to calamity.

After staying in Aleppo for a year Zangi, 'imád ud dín son of Áqsunqur, came to Edessa at harvest in the second year, leaving his troops on the river Julláb between Kasas and Ḥarrán on the stream. He with his governors, chiefs, commanders, and other councillors came to the town on the five days, on Tuesday in the middle of Pentecost. The metropolitan, priests, deacons, and all the Christians went out to meet him on one hand, and the Muslims who had gathered from all quarters on the other. He greeted the Christians with joy, kissed the Gospel, saluted the metropolitan, and asked after his health. He said that he had come for their sake to supply what they lacked. He passed the east gate to enter by the north gate where the town had been captured. They had rebuilt the breaches and the seven towers which the engines had destroyed, a work even stronger than the foundations, and had carved on them in Arabic the story of the capture and the ruler's name. They had destroyed the church of the Confessors and used the stones for the wall. They began to build a fortress for the ruler beside the beautiful church of S. John in which he lodged. They set guards over the church to save it from damage for the Franks had beautified it, altering the roof and renewing the bricks. In it were nearly a hundred great windows ; for all they had made leaden lattices to let in the light and keep out birds. Many bishops and patriarchs were buried

¹ Much abridged.

in it, the Frank bishops including Papias, who was killed during the siege, behind the pulpit. His tomb was covered by a block of red marble carved in the likeness of the bishop. The bodies of Addai the apostle and Abgar the king were in a silver gilt coffin. At the capture the coffin was stolen and the bones scattered ; but believers collected them with many fragments of saints and put them in an urn in the church of the Syrians called S. Theodore. The Muslims also took the churches of S. Stephen and Thomas the apostle, because the Franks had prayed in these three. They made S. Thomas a stable, and S. Stephen a store for fodder and other revenue of the governor. They destroyed also the churches of SS. Theodore and Michael the angel on the east of the town and used the stones to repair gaps in the wall on that side and the upper castle where the crowd was crushed. The Muslims also thoroughly repaired the mosque which had been used as the residence of the Frank bishop. Zangi entered by the north gate, the gate of Hours, went towards the church of S. John, went down to the springs, and inspected carefully. He went to the church of Thomas the apostle, broke bread there. He mounted and went up to the round spring, called Abgarus, where was formerly a palace of king Abgar, long since destroyed. A garden was planted there which is still called the Metropolitan's. Late at night he went up to the church of S. John where he lodged ; round it were pitched the tents of his chiefs. In the morning he summoned the metropolitan, inquired about the well to the south of the town where lepers were healed. He was told the whole story from the beginning.¹

Zangi suffered much from gout in the feet and, when he heard the story, he believed that the blessing of Christ could still work such miracles. He rode to the well, drew water, and washed his feet. All that was left of the convent was the altar on the east. Zangi gave orders that a great hostel should be built for the convenience of the sick and suffering

¹ The tale of the well is omitted.

who came there and endowed it with the fields near by. God did not want this to be accomplished so let his death interfere with it.

Zangi visited our Syrian churches, examined their beauty, ordered two great bells to be given them and hung on them, as was the custom in the time of the Franks, and got ready to go. He told the metropolitan to be zealous in guarding the town and not to betray his government. He left on the evening of Friday after Pentecost, and went by Harrán to ar-Raqqa. He sent troops who plundered the land of Qal'at Ja'bar. He settled three hundred families of Jews in Edessa.

After a short stay in ar-Raqqa, Zangi marched with his army to besiege Qal'at Ja'bar. He attacked it fiercely but without success as it was very strong. He harassed the castle with his attack as he had sworn not to turn aside till he had taken it. On the night before Sunday of the feast of the Holy Cross, 14th September, as he lay asleep without care, hoping for many years, two of his trusted eunuchs killed him in his bed and fled to the castle. It was known that night that he had been killed ; fear and confusion fell on the camp ; they plundered one another, and each who had a grudge against his neighbour and had the power took vengeance on him. The chiefs and leaders, in fives and sixes, made secret agreements till they escaped to their own lands. The rest of the troops, the assembled crowd, and the traders were plundered. The guards sacked the tent and camp of Zangi, the treasury, arsenal, and royal property, camels and horses beyond number ; all were stolen. All went their own ways. He who at eve terrified the world was left alone in the morning with none to bury him. He had four sons. The eldest Ghází Saif ud dín was in Persia with the sultan of Media and Babylon ; the second Maḥmúd Núr ud dín was in the camp with him when he was slain ; the two others, Quṭb ud dín Mawdúd and the Amír amirán,¹

¹ Nuṣrat ud dín Mírmirán.

were in Mosul. The wise old chief Şalâh ud dîn, as soon as he heard of the murder of Zangi, took his son Maĥmûd and the other chiefs who followed him, went quickly to Aleppo, and installed him as ruler. He seized the huge treasure with the great wealth that was stored up there. They did not bury Zangi but left him till some men just took him up, carried him to ar-Raqqâ, and buried him there. Quṭb ud dîn Mawdûd ruled in Mosul with Zain ud dîn as his adviser. Nûr ud dîn ruled over Aleppo and Mesopotamia in 1458 (A.D. 1147) ; he took Hâmâth, Hîms, and Damascus,¹ though his father could not. He made peace with the Franks ; he met Joscelyn and they made sworn promises to each other. He was more cunning and crafty than his father, he grew strong and his power was established. He possessed 'ezâz and took Baalbek from an Egyptian named Ḍaĥḥâk (Takhak).²

The Franks sat each one in his own land at peace. Count Joscelyn was grieved for Edessa but could do nothing. When he heard of the murder of Zangi he rejoiced for he thought that the Muslim chiefs and leaders would be at strife and careless of Edessa. He arranged that Baldwin of Kaisûn and Mar'ash should help him ; but Pîtabîn of Antioch neglected to help as he was enraged with both of them for not acknowledging him as their overlord. Forty days after the murder of Zangi, Baldwin and Joscelyn collected their forces at Dalik and got ready to march on Edessa. They thought they might surprise it at night. The lords in Aleppo heard of the levy and sent messengers to the lords in Edessa to say, "The Franks have concentrated ; whither they are going we know not ; if they go towards you, we have also collected our forces and will come with speed. Take heed to yourselves and guard the town ; make the Christians swear (fealty) and take hostages." When this order came, they took hostages from the Christians, about fifty men, builders, craftsmen, and smiths, and prepared all that was

¹ A.D. 1154.

² A.D. 1150.

needful in the forts of the town. Soon the Franks came, Sunday, 27th October, two years after the capture. They hid in a wadi till evening and, when it was dark, sent forward many strong men on foot who drew near the town on the west. They chose a corner where no guards were, climbed the wall immediately, let down ropes, and drew up ladders and their fellows. When the watchmen advanced to find out who they were, they attacked them, killed some, and threw them down outside the wall. Screams and a great noise were heard. The Franks on the wall shouted lustily in praise of God, the troops in ambush at a distance heard, sprang up and rushed forward in a mass, and reached the town at the third hour of the night, the first watch. They went down and opened the gates, the west gate beside the spring, and the Frank horse and foot went in. At once the brainless fools ceased fighting and neglected the Muslim guards in the forts and fell to plundering houses and sacking the markets. That night they began to break open the doors of shops and houses of the just and unjust, of Muslims and Christians, laying hands on all they could find. The Muslims, as soon as they saw this error, ran to the forts; those in the forts opened the gates and received them, their children, and their goods without confusion. They did not make the mistake of the Franks at the first capture who shut the gate and caused the great suffocation. Many Muslims also dropped down from the wall by night and escaped to Ḥarrán, for no one pursued them. When it became light the count sent for the Syrian metropolitan and asked him to prepare engines to attack the forts. They set them up and attacked the lower fort fiercely but without success as it was lofty and strong. They could not attack the upper fort for it was full of men and strong. Thus the town was subjected to travail six days. When the Franks saw that they could not take the forts, that their enemies were many and arriving from all parts, anxiety and fear fell upon them. Every night the townsmen gathered round

the Frank camp beside the convent of Abgar for fear of the Turks. On Saturday a spy came from the direction of the enemy and told Joscelyn to beware for himself and his men for troops from Aleppo and Mabbúj had come, many Turkmen and various tribes, who were hidden in the hills intending to surround them on the morrow like a ring, while those in the town were ready to attack and annihilate them. When Joscelyn heard this, fear fell on him and giddiness laid hold of him and he knew not what to do for the Turk armies had come and spread over the eastern plain and the hills. The Franks decided to leave the town secretly at night unknown to the Muslims in the forts and the Turks in the eastern plain and the hills. Was it possible that many thousands of men and horses should go out by one gate without it being known? Had they gone out by day they would have been stopped. They waited till three hours of the night had gone, opened the north gate, the gate of Hours, and began to march out. When the townsmen and the women and children gathered there saw that the Franks were going and leaving them in the hands of the pagan oppressors, they screamed in distress, and trembling fell on them. The town was in an uproar, bitter screams from women and children, mothers calling to their children who did not answer, lost children straying on every side, crying bitterly for their mothers and not finding them, running every way through the throng of men and horses, thrown down, torn, and trodden on by the hoofs of horses and other animals with none to pick them up. The night was dark, there was no light; all rushed headlong through the street which led to the gate of Hours; soldiers, men in armour, horses, and animals were mingled with boys, women, and children, pushing and trampling on one another without pity; the cattle, mules, and ponies which bore the plunder taken from the town by the Franks fell and no one could raise them or loose their loads. Children were crushed between them and lost their lives miserably. In every road many lay, men and animals, women, children, and youths,

shamefully crushed ; no one cared or stretched out a hand. Such was this disgraceful exit ; they left houses full of goods and all necessities, the doors open, lamps lighted, and beds ready.

The Frank troops and those who could go with them left the town and assembled round a tower, the pillar of the anchorites in front of the church of the Confessors, where the Turks formed a ring round them showering arrows on them like rain and piercing many. They were mixed up with the mob and began to slay like butchers so that a noise was heard like axes falling on trees. There was a clamour in the dark and Christian could not be distinguished from Turk. The Frank soldiers were mixed with the crowd, each in fear hiding himself by pushing to the centre. The Frank leaders cried out in anguish, " For God's sake, come to the outside, fight manfully, resist the assault of the enemy, or we are lost." The horsemen dismounted and encircled the crowd. Thus they stayed. When morning came, Baldwin and Joscelyn mounted and restored discipline. Baldwin rode ahead and Joscelyn brought up the rear while the foot were on the right and left of the crowd. At daylight on this sad Sunday, 3rd November, the feast of S. George, they marched quietly on the road to Sumaisât. The enemy in thousands and tens of thousands encircled them and slew many soldiers and non-combatants but the soldiers fought valiantly and did not let the enemy fight near the crowd as many of them were mighty archers. They moved in weariness and danger. Who can tell the sad and ominous sight of a people smitten with the sorrows of the men of Edessa ? They walked barefoot on stones, thorns, brambles, and spikes ; their feet were torn as with knives ; blood ran from them painfully. Without order they pushed and burdened one another and fell ; they pushed and shoved ; from fear of the arrows that smote them they hid one behind the other ; one was weary and fell, another was strong and ran towards safety ; another fell and stretched himself towards the east. The

pursuers slaughtered them like sheep. Children and babes ran with bare feet among the thorns, torn by sharp spikes, tongues hanging out for thirst, mouths bitter as aloes, teeth black as soot, strayed, crushed in the throng, trampled under the hoofs of horses, trodden on and perishing. Above all this, their way was not a beaten road but lay through thickets and a great forest in the plain. The enemy set fire to this and it blazed before and around them ; they could not turn aside but struggled through the fire with scorched feet. They were in this torment till the ninth hour of that day. The enemy also had laboured all that night and day, fighting and marching, and prepared to return. They feared lest the Franks might leave the non-combatants in some fort and attack them. Others wished to share in the spoil of the town, for many of the foot had stayed there and the garrisons of the forts had begun to sack the town. So the enemy went back and only a few Turkmen were left.

The Franks made a fatal mistake ; they resolved to attack the Turks who were still hanging round them. Accordingly count Joscelyn and his men who were in the rear attacked the enemy near them on the left, that is the west ; Baldwin of Kaisún, when he saw the count attack and the trumpets sound, attacked on the right. The Frank horse charged in confusion without order. The Turks gave way on either hand till the leaders had charged past impetuously then attacked from the rear and broke them. The Franks thought no more of cohesion and order but all sought safety in disgraceful flight, casting away spears, shields, coats of mail, and all their armour, even the swords drawn in their hands for the fear that gripped them. The foot reached a ruined fort near by on the left on the Eagle's hill and about two thousand found safety there. They were the lusty youth of Edessa. The women, children, and infants were given over to plunder and slavery. Joscelyn was wounded in the side by an arrow but escaped to Sumaisât in trembling and consternation. Baldwin, who was a beautiful youth,

fair to see, head and shoulders above all in his time, famous in war, fell in this disaster from arrow thrusts and sword strokes. At the time they did not know who he was. Many priests, deacons, and monks who escaped the first capture perished at this time. The Turks seized the whole town, and the goods and valuables of Joscelyn, Baldwin, and all the townsfolk.

The Turks and various tribes became masters of this famous town which had not been sacked since its foundation in the days of Seleucus, one thousand four hundred and sixty years. At the first capture it had been sacked for two days only and had been hurriedly saved from plunder and destruction at the command of Zangi. All had gone back to their homes and heritages. In this, complete ruin ; not for two days only but for a whole year they went about the town digging, searching secret places, foundations, and roofs. They found many treasures hidden in the times of the fathers and elders and many of which the inhabitants knew nothing.

Those who escaped destruction and took refuge in the fort scattered in fives and tens at nightfall ; some were taken and some reached Sumaisât for Frank territory was then near. The Armenian bishop was taken and sold in Aleppo, Basilius the Syrian escaped to Sumaisât. Of the priests in the town few escaped, some were killed and some captured. The chief priest—chief of disorder, rather, and disturber of the church—‘abdún was caught that hapless night outside the town gate. He fell in the moat and, thinking that Christians would pull him out, cried, “ Who will earn a hundred dinars by pulling me out ? ” A Turk went down, killed him, took his purse of gold and the wealth he had on him ; dogs ate his carcase and his soul went to eternal punishment. If God does not respect his person, hell is his miserable lot for ever. Those who escaped captivity and ruin wandered about seeking their enslaved kindred. Then the Christians to the east of the Euphrates, especially those of Mardín, Shabaktan, and Sababark were kind and humane ; may the

Lord show them mercy ! Among them the merit of John bishop of Mardín, a native of Edessa, is beyond words. May his name be written in Jerusalem above ! To the west of the Euphrates there was no mercy in the Christians but only wickedness, hardness, thickness of head, and an evil mind, especially in the priests, monks, and bishops.

In 1458 (rightly A.D. 1148) after the second capture of Edessa, the king of the Germans and the king of the Franks with three hundred and ninety-five thousand men came by sea to the capital of the Greeks. The emperor caused them to go by a bad road and sent with them guides to lead them to a desert where neither water nor any needful thing was to be found. When they had gone ten days march from Constantinople and their food was exhausted, they found no houses nor villages where they could buy, not even water, they wandered in a dry desert and knew not where to go. Their guides had deserted them in the night and warned the Turks of Cappadocia against them. The prince Mas'úd came with his army, found them in the desert exhausted with hunger and thirst, attacked and routed them.¹ Many died of hunger. The two kings with a few troops escaped to the sea, reached Attalia, and went by ship to Antioch having lost all. The Turks grew rich for they had taken gold and silver as pebbles with no end. Later in the year another prince Alphonso (Anfush) with his wife and family came by sea to Acre. A thousand horsemen followed him. He was near of kin to the count of Tripoli who, fearing that he would claim a share in his land, sent one of his household with deadly poison. He gave it to him and he died.

Baldwin was then king in Jerusalem. The king of the Germans and the other of the Franks met him in Jerusalem and agreed to besiege Damascus.¹ When they had invested the city they, and especially the Germans, made a resolute assault on it. In their distress the inhabitants wanted to surrender but the wicked jealousy of the Franks, who cannot

¹ A.D. 1148.

bear another's success, was their undoing. The king of Jerusalem reasoned with himself that if the foreigners took Damascus they would grow strong and take his lands from him, so he sent secretly to the garrison asking what they would give him if he caused the foreign kings to go away, as he was the neighbour of Damascus and wished it well. This caused the garrison great joy so they promised the king of Jerusalem one hundred thousand dinars of gold. He advised the kings to shift the camp so they moved from a convenient site to one entirely unsuitable. When the kings saw that the king of Jerusalem was faithless, they were angry, left Damascus, and went to Acre. The king of Jerusalem got his hundred thousand dinars but shortly found that they were all brass. The kings sailed away to their own land.

Then Dawla son of Ghází son of Dánishmand, lord of Malaṭia, when he heard of the disaster to Joscelyn and Edessa and was certain that Baldwin of Kaisún was dead, he who had ruled over the land of Zabar and the hill country to the border of Malaṭia, gathered and attacked the monasteries of Zubar which were Armenian. They were the great convent of Zubar, Tágakár, Shamánug, and Shíbakár. He took them all with the villages and monasteries round them in three days. They were strong, rich, full of goods, with rich crops and no enemy had ever captured them since early times. He enslaved the inhabitants, seven thousand four hundred in number, and plundered them, so that the robbers were amazed at their wealth. They had never helped the poor and needy. After sacking them and enslaving the inhabitants he set fire to the buildings, destroying wine, raisins, figs, nuts, fodder, and meal—an incalculable quantity—and many books of all sorts.

At that time the Turks took the fort named Tell Adana or Agangatal above Sumaisát, killed the men, enslaved a great number of women and children, and destroyed the fort by fire ; and also another called Shírág in the land of Tell Báshir,

killing the men and enslaving the women and children. The sons of the Ortuqid Dáúd took Tell Arsenius on the river¹ of that name, a tributary of the Euphrates. After the father's death the sons quarrelled; those who were strong captured this place by assault, enslaved five thousand Syrian Christians, plundered everything and departed.

Joscelyn sacked the monastery of S. Baršúma.²

In 1461 (rightly, end of 1148) Núr ud dín gathered his forces and besieged Yagra³ in the land of Antioch whose lord was then at Jabala on the sea. When he heard the news, he took his army, smote the Turks suddenly, and defeated them. Núr ud dín fled with two hundred horse to Aleppo and about ten thousand were slain. The Franks took the Turkish camp and Núr ud dín's tents, gold and silver, male and female slaves, drums and trumpets, singing girls and musicians. The Franks took all and went to Antioch with great joy, the townsmen coming out to meet them; there was great rejoicing among all the Christians. With the Franks was an Arab lord, 'alí son of Wafá, who had a grudge against Núr ud dín and served in Antioch.

Three months after this defeat Núr ud dín gathered his army and besieged Anab.⁴ On learning of this Pítabín of Antioch took his army and came to fight him. When Núr ud dín heard of the coming of the Franks he left the castle and went up into the hills. The Franks camped in the plain about Tell Anab. Scouts reported that the Franks were few, so Núr ud dín marshalled his army, sounded trumpets, and descended on the Franks; God was angry with them so they broke and fled. Godfrey of Mar'ash, 'alí son of Wafá, and many others were killed. Núr ud dín took slaves and wasted the duke's land; he also captured Hárím, 'am, Artah,

¹ Murád-Su (Eastern Euphrates).

² Details omitted in translation.

³ In the marshlands east of the junction of the Qara-Su with the lake of Antioch. The Arabic authors, except Ibn al-Qalánisí, make this battle a victory for Núr ud dín.

⁴ A.D. 1149.

and all the villages round Hárím. The lord of Antioch was also slain ; it was a dire defeat. The Turks took slaves, prisoners, horses, and goods without end. Joscelyn of Edessa was in 'ezáz when he learnt of the death of the lord of Antioch, so he took a few men from there and went to Antioch to rule there. When he came to Cyrrhus and prepared to cross to Shaikh, Turkmen sprang on him from the trees and seized him. He promised to give them all they asked if they would take him to 'ezáz. They took him to a village named Dair ul Shaikh.¹ They did not know him but the Christians knew him and wanted to buy him from the Turks. The price was fixed at sixty dinars when, by the will of God who acts as seems good to him, a Jew dyer passed by the village and recognized him. He told the Turkmen that it was Joscelyn so they took him to Aleppo. Núr ud dín ordered him to be blinded and thrown into prison in chains. He stayed nine years in prison and died there.

In 1463 (rightly 1153) Baldwin of Jerusalem made his preparations and besieged Ascalon. One of the prominent Franks named Raymon² did great things in this siege and asked the king to give him to wife the widow of the lord of Antioch who had been killed. He gave him authority to go, take the lady of Antioch, and become its ruler. He came back while Baldwin was still besieging Ascalon. They pressed the siege, built a strong tower of wood which, when brought near to the town, was higher than the wall. On the tower they put soldiers and an engine which threw stones and arrows right into the town. All who came into the streets or out of their houses were killed so the townsmen were in great distress from famine and fighting. The siege was long. When they saw that there was no saviour, for the Egyptians were fighting among themselves as we shall tell, and no other place could help, they asked that their lives

¹ The text has " Shaikh ud-Dair ".

² Should be Raynald, i.e. Reginald of Chatillon, married in 1153 Constance, daughter of Bohemund II and widow of Raymond of Poitou.

might be spared ; their nobles went to the king who with the patriarch gave them a promise on oath, and surrendered the town. Those who wished to stay there under Frank rule, stayed ; those who wished to go to Egypt, took their families and goods and departed in peace.

In that year was a bad earthquake which ruined Shaizar ¹ ; the lord with his sons and household and forty thousand men perished. Half the rock on which the citadel was built fell. Many were killed in Ḥamath, Salamiya, and most of the villages round about. Also Núr ud dín took Ḥarrán from his brother the Mírmirán and Beth Hesne ² after a siege.³ The Turks enslaved the monastery of Baríd and killed four monks. Núr ud dín also took 'ain Ṭáb by assault, destroying it utterly ; he showed mercy to none and took the prisoners and plunder to Aleppo.

In 1470 (rightly 1157) a famous man of the family of the king of the Franks called the count of Flanders (Gundafland) with many soldiers came to Jerusalem and gathered the Franks of the coast, the king of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli, and Thoros the Armenian, lord of Cilicia, a great host. They laid siege to Shaizar, enslaved the whole land, and took the castle.⁴ They sacked it entirely, killed many, and took some five thousand women and children as slaves, also gold and silver without end. Then they marched to Ḥárim which capitulated as the Muslims in it had gone to Aleppo.⁵ At the end of the year Manuel emperor of the Greeks came to Antioch and camped on the river 'ufrín as if he meant to besiege Aleppo so Núr ud dín gathered all the Muslim troops from Assyria, Mesopotamia, Ámid, Mardín, and Mayyafáriqín to make war on the emperor, for the Muslims were much afraid. Then the emperor heard that Andronicus one of his nobles had rebelled in the capital so he made peace with Núr ud dín, obtaining the release of the prisoners in Aleppo including the son of that Alphonso who was poisoned

¹ A.D. 1157.² Behesná.³ A.D. 1159.⁴ A.D. 1157.⁵ A.D. 1158.

by the count of Tripoli. The emperor went back to his capital having done nothing.¹ In that year was a bad earthquake which ruined Jabala on the coast, killing two thousand men. In that year² Raynald (Raimun) of Antioch and Joscelyn son of Joscelyn who was captured at Ḥaram ravaged the land of Aleppo; when they had enslaved and plundered at will, they returned unmolested. Raynald went to Antioch. Joscelyn sat in a village eating and drinking when a Turk army overtook him, seized him, and took him to Aleppo. They put him in chains with his father. Later in that year Raynald ravaged the land of Aleppo but on his way back a Turk army overtook him at the Black river, defeated his troops, took him prisoner, and put him in chains. In that year a son³ of the first Pítabín became ruler of Antioch; he drove out his mother who went to Latakia.

In 1475 (1164) Núr ud dín collected his troops bringing his brother Quṭb ud dín lord of Assyria and Mosul, Zain ud dín lord of Arbíl, the lord of Sinjar, Fakhr ud dín lord of Ḥisn Kaifa and the land of Hanzít, Ḥusám ud dín lord of Mardín, Shiháb ud dín lord of Zeugma and al Bira, his cousin Majd ud dín, Saif ud dín lord of Mabbúj and Edessa; when they were assembled they besieged Ḥárim. They were seventy thousand horse and forty thousand foot. They set up engines and made a fierce assault on the castle which was commanded by Arnagd,⁴ a mighty warrior. He resisted the Turks valiantly. The Franks gathered six hundred horse and five thousand foot under the count of Tripoli, the lord of Antioch, and Thoros the Armenian, and marched from Antioch on Ḥárim. When the Turks heard of the Frank advance they moved from the castle to 'am, a village near by. The Franks arrived and camped where the Turks had been camped. Thoros of Cilicia advised them that they had

¹ A.D. 1159.

² A.D. 1160.

³ Bohemund III, son of Raymond of Poitou.

⁴ Perhaps Raynald, from the Armenian form Renaghd. (Michel le Syrien, iii, 288.)

done enough in raising the siege, so they should evacuate the weaklings from the castle, put in their place strong and brave soldiers, return to Antioch, and wait till the king of Jerusalem came back from Egypt. The count of Tripoli would not listen to this counsel, but insisted on fighting and defeating the Turks, for they were only dogs. They marched from Hārim to 'am. When they drew near, and the Turks on the hill saw they were only few, they blew the trumpets, descended on them, surrounded them like a ring, and smote them mightily. The count and Thoros fled, the duke of the Greeks was captured, all the infantry were killed, the lord of Antioch with many Frank horsemen was captured, and many perished with horses and stores without end in August of that year. After defeating the Franks the Turks besieged Hārim which capitulated; they invaded the duke's land and took slaves, they went to the famous Greek convent of S. Sim'án and sacked it. They took gold, silver, valuables, books, patens, chalices, crosses, censers, images of gold and silver, and many precious vestments. They plundered the monks and took them all prisoners to Aleppo. More than ten thousand Franks were killed in the defeat at Hārim and even more Turks. The Turks then marched to Bányás which capitulated as its lord, the king of Jerusalem, was in Egypt.

THE CHRONICLE OF BAR HEBRÆUS

Bar Hebræus did not use the Anonymous. He tells of the bribe given to the king of Jerusalem by Damascus and adds, "I have not found this story in five separate Arab books but only in Michael." Even where he agrees with the Anonymous he has fresh details. Three examples are enough.

At the siege of Edessa the garrison countermined and killed a few of the enemy. The besiegers knew that the garrison had built a new wall behind the mined section so they undermined two towers. Zangi asked the garrison to send two men to inspect these mines, offering hostages for their safety (cf. p. 283).

The caliph sent to Ghází b. Dánishmand, lord of Malatía, a collar of gold for his neck, a sign of lordship, a sceptre of gold, four black flags, and drums to be beaten before him (cf. p. 99).

On the death of 'izz ud dín Mas'úd, his younger brother succeeded under the tutelage of Jáwali, a Turkish chief and a slave of Bursuq. Jáwali sent the kadi of Mosul, Abu'l Ḥasan 'alí b. al-Shahrazúri and Şaláh al Yághisiyáni to the sultan in Baghdad to have the appointment of Bursuq's son ratified. They, however, told the sultan that Mosul needed a soldier to oppose the Franks, who threatened all Islam, and suggested Zangi (cf. p. 101).

106.